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ÆGYPTIACA:
OR,
OBSERVATIONS
ON CERTAIN
ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT.
IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF POMPEY'S PILLAR

ELUCIDATED.

PART II.

ABDOLLATIF'S ACCOUNT OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT,

WRITTEN IN ARABIC A. D. 1203.

Translated into English, and illustrated with Notes.

BY

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PART I.

OXFORD:

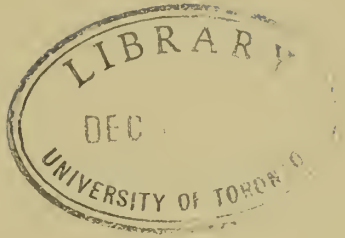
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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN LORD ELDON,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN,
THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,
IN TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT
FOR HIS TALENTS, CHARACTER, AND VIRTUES,
BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT
HUMBLE SERVANT,
J. WHITE.

P R E F A C E.

THAT magnificent PILLAR, which is the chief subject of the following Inquiry, may be ranked with the most illustrious remains of ancient art. It has excited the attention of the Traveller, employed the pen of the Historian, and exercised the skill of the Antiquary: and all these have united in holding it forth to the notice and admiration of mankind. But while the object of curiosity is admitted to be interesting, the attempt to write after so much has been written, may be deemed an idle presumption: and the sceptical inquirer, who has in vain sought for satisfactory information from those witnesses who have visited the spot, will perhaps disdain that which is offered him from the recesses of an University. To obviate such a prejudice, (if any such should be entertained,) let me here explicitly inform the Reader, that in the ensuing pages he will see no paradox advanced to contradict and perplex the concurrent testimony of ages; but he will find that the commonly received accounts have some material defects to be supplied, and some

gross errors to be corrected, and that such corrections have been made, it is hoped, upon the authority of unexceptionable evidence.

To the knowledge of this evidence, though I have hitherto forbore to produce it, I was led more than twenty years ago by the general course of my Oriental studies, and particularly by my attention to a work which ought indeed to have been published long since, but which I have at last had the satisfaction to submit to the consideration of the learned. The perusal of Arabic authors, who lived in Egypt, and wrote at a time when that country was singularly eminent in arms and letters, furnished me with valuable materials for illustrating this splendid Monument of Antiquity: and if by their assistance I shall now be enabled to clear up the doubts that have arisen, and to ascertain (on highly probable grounds) the Time of its erection and the name of its Founder, it may not be presumptuous to hope, that my labour will be repaid by the favourable regard of liberal and enlightened inquirers.

But it is difficult to pursue this inquiry, without pausing for a while over those scenes, which will unavoidably present themselves to view. In approaching this great Object of curiosity, we enter upon a land of wonders; in its history and fate distinguished from all others,

and suggesting matter of the most serious and awful reflection. For what country may compare with Egypt in early renown for power, and wealth, and science, when other nations were fed with the produce of her soil, and enriched with the treasures of her wisdom? Where else can we behold such stupendous works of art; which, no less in design than in magnitude, seem almost to exceed the ability of human agents? And, lastly, where shall we find a degeneracy like that of the present race of Egyptians; or where an ancient inheritance of greatness and glory, which has been so totally wasted and lost?

Yet the various revolutions, under which Egypt repeatedly sunk, were not always so injurious and destructive. The conquest of Alexander was followed by the establishment of a new metropolis; an establishment, that enriched the country with commerce, and adorned it with the sumptuous elegance of Grecian art: for the city of Alexander, answering the grand conceptions of her Founder, became at once the centre of trade and the seat of learning; and in the day of her prosperity exceeded the politeness of Athens, and rivalled the greatness of Rome.

Nor was the condition of Egypt, while under the dominion of her Saracen masters, continually declining or

unprosperous. Within this period she resumed for a while some portion of her original splendor : and the epocha is remarkable. She was flourishing, learned, and polite, whilst Europe was immerfed in the groffest ignorance and barbarism : and what ancient fables reported of her, that the deities had concealed themselves there, from earth-born rebellion and violence, appeared as an allegory, which was now verified, when arts and letters found there an afylum from that inundation of barbarians, which overwhelmed all the kingdoms of Europe.

It may be pertinent to remark, that the two periods here felected for notice have a near connection with the fubject of the following Difcourfe. The first was diftinguished by the ERECTION OF THE PILLAR, and the fecond by the EARLIEST, and perhaps the BEST, ACCOUNTS recorded of it.

To defcend lower in the revolutions of Egypt, is an ungrateful and melancholy task. Her glory, which had long been clouded, was now haftily declining ; and it finally fet with the Sultan SALADIN : after whose death there followed fuch wasteful and barbarous wars, as left behind them not the monuments of men or of conquerors, but rather the havoc of wild beafts and deftroyers.

We now therefore behold in Egypt the awful spectacle of a kingdom in ruins; the ruins not merely of temples, and cities, and the mighty efforts of labour and art; but of science, and the human mind itself, of which those works were but the imperfect and perishable memorials. Surely then, from this view of a nation once so glorious, and in the eye of human foresight so guarded against the stroke of calamity, but now so humbled and hopeless, we are taught to look beyond the natural causes of such events, to that Being from whom they issue. Concerning this kingdom God was pleased long since to declare his purpose^a. And among all the examples that history can shew, there is not a more signal object than Egypt, thus lying under the Divine interdiction, and left as a fearful witness of his eternal prescience and power.

But an attempt has been made of late to raise this country from its degraded and fallen condition, to restore it to liberty and independence, and replace it in its station among the kingdoms of the earth. Or rather, let us say, that, under the pretence of conferring these unsolicited benefits, a people, regardless of every principle of moral propriety, and every law of civilized nations, has carried thither without provocation all the

^a Ezek. xxx. and Newton on the Prophecies, Works, vol. i. p. 197.

miseries and horrors of war. It is not improbable, that their hopes of success in this atrocious and daring enterprize were encouraged by the reports of certain travellers of their own nation. These men had gone through the land with the sentiments of robbers and spies. They saw in its wealth an object of plunder, and in its weakness and divisions the opportunities of easy acquisition. To minds occupied with such prospects, the face of a country would appear little interesting: the most intelligent of them looked with disgust on the fairest features of Egypt. Volney ascended the river from Rosetto to Cairo, and thus he describes the Delta. “ The scenery of the country offers little variety. It has still a few palm-trees, which stand thinner as you advance—villages built with mud walls, and of a ruinous appearance—a boundless flat, which, according to the different seasons, is a fresh water sea, a miry fen, a green carpet, or a dusty field—and on every side a distant horizon loaded with vapours^b.” But although the *beauties* of the country failed of making an impression, its *various produce* both

^b “ Quant au tableau de la campagne, il varie peu ; ce sont toujours des palmiers isolés ou réunis, plus rares à mesure que l’on avance ; des villages bâtis en terre et d’un aspect ruiné, une plaine sans bornes, qui, selon les saisons, est une mer d’eau douce, un marais fangeux, un tapis de verdure, ou un champ de poussière ; de toutes parts, un horizon lointain, vapoureux, où les yeux se fatiguent et s’ennuient.” Tom. i. p. 10.

of art and nature was viewed with eager and avaricious eyes; and the PILLAR OF ALEXANDRIA was not omitted in the catalogue of premeditated plunder^c.

It may be amusing to compare the different ideas which the appearance of the same country suggested to the French traveller and the Saracen conqueror. Upon the conquest of Egypt by Amru Ebn El Aas, the Khalif Omar wrote to him, requiring an account of the country, which Amru returned him at some length. The curious correspondence is preserved by Murtadi, from whom the following passage is extracted.

“ La terre ne tarde point après la noirceur de son engrais, à se revestir de
 “ vert, et à répandre une agreable odeur, tant qu’elle produit des tuyaux
 “ et des feuilles et des espics, faisant une belle monstre et donnant une
 “ bonne espérance ; la rosée l’abbreuvent d’enhaut, et l’humidité donnant
 “ nourriture à ses productions par bas.—Après cela, la terre estale ses beau-
 “ tés et fait parade de ses graces, resjouissant ses habitans et les afferant
 “ de la recolte de ses fruits pour leur nourriture—Elle paroist aujourd’hui
 “ comme une terre poudreuse, puis incontinent comme une mer bleuaistre,
 “ et comme une perle blanche, puis comme de la boue noire, puis comme
 “ un tafetas vert, puis comme une broderie de diverses couleurs, puis
 “ comme une fonte d’or rouge.” P. 283.

The luminous page of Gibbon is adorned with a portion of this letter, (vol. v. p. 347. 4^{to}.) but his translation is very loose, and the *silver* and *emerald* that glitter in it are borrowed from some other Arabic authors, upon the credit of the consul Maillet. See Lettres de MAILLET, p. 70.

^c “ J’ai ouï dire à Alexandrie que l’on avoit eu autrefois le projet de
 “ transporter en France la Colonne que l’on y admire. Les Levantins et les
 “ navigateurs Provençaux regardoient cette entreprise comme impraticable ;
 “ ils oublioient, ou peut-être n’avoient-ils jamais su que cette masse de
 “ granit avoit été tirée des carrières de Syène, c’est-à-dire, de plus de
 “ deux cents lieues : ils ignoroient que Caius-César avoit fait venir d’E-
 “ gypte à Rome un Obélisque de cent coudées ou de vingt-cinq toises
 “ de hauteur, et de huit coudées ou deux toises de diamètre : qu’Auguste

This is the key to open the secret meaning of many of their observations. They not unfrequently enumerate all the articles of commerce^d, by which Egypt might become profitable to France. Its civil and military state is exposed; the expiring authority of the Porte; the small number of Mamelukes; their con-

“ voulut que Rome possédât aussi les deux Obélisques élevés à Héliopolis,
 “ par Sesostris, et qui ont chacun cent vingt coudées de haut; que Con-
 “ stantin ordonna le transport d’un autre Obélisque, non moins considéra-
 “ ble, et à la construction duquel Ramassès, roi d’Egypte, avoit employé
 “ deux mille hommes; ils ignoroient enfin que, de nos jours, Pétersbourg
 “ a vu placer dans son sein un rocher amené d’assez loin, et du poids de
 “ trois millions de livres.

“ Les grandes entreprises sont les vrais monumens de la gloire des grandes
 “ nations. Il seroit digne de celle qui, en peu d’années, a surpassé tout ce
 “ que les Romains nous ont présenté de faits héroïques, de s’approprier la
 “ Colonne d’Alexandrie. S’il falloit pour cela des moyens extraordinaires,
 “ le génie des sciences, inséparable de celui de la véritable gloire, est là
 “ pour les tracer, et les arts qui s’élèvent aussi avec le peuple qui les chérit,
 “ sauront les exécuter. Au milieu d’une des places de Paris, de celle de la
 “ *Révolution*, par exemple, la Colonne ne pourroit manquer de produire
 “ l’effet le plus majestueux. Une Statue colossale surmonteroit son chapi-
 “ teau; ce seroit L’IMAGE DE LA LIBERTE: elle domineroit les palais
 “ des dépositaires du pouvoir, et, par son attitude fière et imposante, elle
 “ seroit la terreur de quiconque oseroit abuser de l’autorité, pour tourmen-
 “ ter ou trahir un peuple, de la puissance duquel elle seroit également un
 “ emblème éternel.”

This is the scheme of one of their late travellers, the half-learned, trifling, presumptuous, and atheistical Sonnini, tom. i. p. 140. The same scheme of transporting the Pillar is suggested by Savary, Letter II.

^d Sonnini, tom. i. ch. 14. tom. iii. ch. 39. et alibi.

tinual dissensions and feuds; the miserable state of their discipline; and their ridiculous ignorance of the art of war. On the other hand are represented, in the strongest colours, the oppressed condition of the people; their strength in labour, and fortitude in suffering; and, above all, the probability of their taking arms against their oppressors, whenever a favourable opportunity shall offer^e. Now, if it should be asked, with what view all this has been done, One of the most acute and mischievous of French travellers will supply us with an answer; not directly to the point indeed, but too plain to be mistaken—"I have for some time entertained an opinion," says Volney, "that NOTHING IS EASIER THAN TO EFFECT IN ASIA A GREAT REVOLUTION BOTH POLITICAL AND CIVIL^f."

Let us however do justice to these unprincipled spoilers, and acknowledge, that they are not the first of their countrymen, who have entertained ideas of aggrandizing France at the expence of this devoted kingdom. In the beginning of this century, Maillet, the French consul at Cairo, suggested a plan for removing the PILLAR to Paris. The scheme indeed was not perfectly honourable;

^e Volney, tom. i. c. 10, 11, 12.

^f "Ces deux exemples me rendent encore plus probable une conjecture que j'avois déjà formée, que rien n'est plus facile que d'opérer une grande révolution politique et civile dans l'Afie." Tom. i. p. 383. N.

for he was to obtain it under false pretences; and he had so far arranged the particulars in his own mind, as to give the details, and even state the expences of the undertaking^s. But *his* project was cheap and easy, compared with

§ “ Après l'idée que je viens de donner de ce monument, peut-on s'empêcher d'avouer, que c'est le plus grand dommage du monde, qu'il soit entre les mains de gens, qui en connoissent si peu le mérite ? Pour moi, je ne puis me détacher d'une idée, qui m'est venue naturellement en le considérant. Cette magnifique Colonne m'a paru digne de soutenir une STATUE DU ROI. S'il est vrai qu'elle ait porté celle de Pompée, comme tradition le veut, à quel Héros pourroit-elle être mieux consacrée ? Par où pourroit-on mieux conserver, et même augmenter la gloire de sa première destination ?

“ Il ne seroit pas aussi difficile, qu'on le pense, d'obtenir cette Colonne de la Porte. Je suis persuadé même qu'on en viendrait aisément à bout, en s'y prenant avec adresse. La Cour pourroit d'abord la faire demander au Grand Seigneur par l'Ambassadeur de France, à qui certainement on ne refuseroit pas cette grace. On obtiendrait ensuite de S. H. qu'elle chargeât un Capigi Bachi d'un ordre adressé au Bacha et aux autres puissances de l'Egypte, par lequel elle déclareroit, qu'étant résolue de faire venir cette pièce à Constantinople, et l'Ambassadeur de France ayant bien voulu se charger de la faire abattre, et de fournir des vaisseaux pour la transporter, sa volonté seroit qu'à cette occasion il fût donné toute sorte de secours et de protection au Consul de cette nation résident au Caire, sans pouvoir pour ce sujet rien exiger de lui sous quelque prétexte que ce fût. Pour prévenir jusqu'au plus léger soupçon, il seroit encore à propos qu'il fût ordonné au Bacha de faire délivrer au Consul les sommes, dont on auroit besoin pour satisfaire aux dépenses absolument nécessaires. On auroit soin que ces sommes fussent ensuite remises secrètement au trésor de S. H. par l'Ambassadeur. Comme il est très-rare que les ordres du Grand Seigneur trouvent de la résistance, comme d'ailleurs les Turcs et les Arabes sont trop grossiers pour estimer de pareilles curiosités

another, which amused the vanity of his nation some years before. What this was, we may learn from a Dedication to Louis XIV. prefixed by the French translator^a to Mur-tadi's "Wonders of Egypt." The conquest of those unknown regions, which conceal the source of the Nile, he slightly mentions as the preliminary step to his design. "Your Majesty then," continues he, "will cause
 "our admiration of the Pyramids to cease, by a work
 "of importance and grandeur, and of a character en-
 "tirely different. That will be, (if our prayers are
 "heard, and our hopes fulfilled,) to turn the course of the
 "Nile, and withhold its fertilizing waters from Egypt,
 "till the present infidel inhabitants have abandoned it ;

"t  s, je ne doute point, si on s'y conduisoit de cette sorte, qu'ils ne s'em-
 "pressassent    faciliter eux-m  mes l'ex  cution d'un dessein, auquel ils ne
 "manqueroient pas de s'opposer de toutes leurs forces, s'ils s  avoient
 "qu'on destin  t cette pi  ce    une puissance   trang  re. Je s  ai qu'il seroit
 "toujours n  cessaire de faire ici quelques lib  ralit  s ; mais je suis en m  me
 "tems tr  s-convaincu, qu'elles n'  galeroient pas    beaucoup pr  s ce qu'il
 "en couteroit, si l'on   toit oblig   d'obtenir leur consentement au prix qu'y
 "mettroit infailliblement leur avarice insatiable. Toute la d  pense confis-
 "teroit dans les frais du b  timent destin   pour ce transport, et de l'entre-
 "tien des matelots, qui le monteroient. Du reste je mets en fait que l'ex-
 "  cution de ce projet ne couteroit pas plus de vingt mille   cus au Roy-
 "aume. La France pourroit se vanter alors de poss  der le plus rare mor-
 "ceau d'antiquit   de cette esp  ce, qui subsiste aujourd'hui dans le monde ;
 "et le concours d'  trangers, que ce monument fameux y attireroit de
 "toutes les parties de l'Europe, la d  dommageroit avec usure de tout ce
 "qu'il en couteroit." MAILLET, tom. i. p. 147, 148.

^a M. Pierre Vattier, King's Professor of Arabic. Paris, 1666. 8^{vo}.

“ and to restore the streams to their former channel,
 “ when more worthy and lawful possessors shall arrive
 “ to cultivate the countryⁱ.” How little do the banishment of the Hugonots and the burning of the Palatinate appear, when compared with this grand and comprehensive project of famine and extirpation !

But the land of Egypt, we trust, will yet happily be delivered out of their hands ; and the COLUMN, we fondly hope, is reserved for a nobler and better fate, more suited to its ancient dignity and original office ; being neither stolen by fraud to exalt *a vain-glorious Monarch*^k, who pursued no higher end in war than the gratification of ambition or revenge ; nor yet seized by violence to exhibit *a dead Form of Liberty*^l in that city, from whence her spirit and life have long since fled. If doomed to leave the soil where it was first erected,

ⁱ “ Quand les François sous les auspices de Votre Majesté, après avoir conquis les Indes, traverseront les vastes provinces de l’Affrique—et qu’ils affuientiront à Vostre Empire les campagnes, où commence le cours du Nil, qui ne peuvent estre que très-fécondes et très-estendues—Vostre Majesté fera cesser alors l’admiration des Pyramides par un ouvrage tout autrement grand et important, qui sera, si nos vœux sont exaucés et nos espérances accomplies, le détournement du cours de ce fleuve, par le moyen duquel elle ravira ses fécondes eaux à l’Egypte, iusques à ce que les Infidelles, qui la possèdent aujourd’hui, l’ayent abandonnée ; pour les lui rendre ensuite, quand elle sera en estat d’estre cultivée par de plus dignes et plus légitimes possesseurs.” *Epistre au Roy*.

^k Louis XIV. See Note, pag. x.

^l See Note c, pag. viii.

to what country would its possessors resign it more gladly, than to that, whose People are the champions of the oppressed, and whose King is the protector of the weak? Or, if left to stand on its ancient basis, why should it not be dedicated by their willing gratitude as a memorial to future ages, and bear on its lofty summit another Sovereign, THE DELIVERER^m, in the view of that sea, where his victorious arms avenged them of their enemiesⁿ?

^m The first Ptolemy was surnamed SOTER, or THE DELIVERER, by the Rhodians, on account of the important succours he afforded them against their enemies. This is intimated by Pausanias, in his Ἀττικά, edit. KUHΝ. p. 20.—Τῷ Θιάρτῃ δὲ ὁ καλῶσιν ᾠθεῖον, ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς ἐφίδας βασιλείων εἰσὶν Αἰγυπτίων. Ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοι σφίσιν, ἄλλη δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἄλλω· καὶ γὰρ Φιλομήτορα καλῶσι, καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ τῷ Λάγῳ, ΣΩΤΗΡΑ, παρὰ δόντων Ῥωδίων τὸ ὄνομα.

ⁿ “ We found means to get ourselves hoisted up, by slings and ropes, to
“ that Column, the most colossal in the known world. From the top of
“ its capital we discovered, to the south, the Site of the lake *Mareotis*, at
“ present covered by the sands of Libya; on the other side the ruins of
“ the whole extent of the city of the Arabs, and of the vast sea, OF WHICH
“ OUR ENEMIES HAD MADE THEMSELVES MASTERS.” NORRY’S *Account of the French Expedition to Egypt*, p. 29.

ÆGYPTIACA.

PART I.

ÆGYPTIACA.

PART I.

SECT. I.

IT is a common subject of complaint among the teachers of youth, that the pupils confided to their care often come to them in a state, compared with which ignorance itself is to be welcomed as the pledge of future excellence. For, having been previously educated on a system fundamentally erroneous, they are incapable of receiving sound and useful instruction, till they have renounced the prejudices imbibed from weak or misguided masters.

It is thus also, that whoever undertakes an inquiry like the present, will often have just cause to complain, that his progress is retarded, not so much by the natural difficulties of his path, however rugged it may be

deemed, as by obstacles deliberately or heedlessly accumulated by those, who have before attempted to explore it. Much of his labour must be employed to correct the preconceived opinions of his readers; to eradicate many notions authorized, as they suppose, by testimony the most faithful, or arguments the most weighty; to combat sometimes with names the most honoured and respected, and at others with those that have been weakly idolized by the sciolist, or craftily extolled by the blasphemer. In both cases, however, the true ground of complaint is, not the time or pains that are bestowed, but the ungrateful nature of the work itself, which seldom finds any other recompense than slander or hatred; and which, though it may merit some degree of praise, when its object is the destruction of Error, yet it cannot aspire to that fair and lasting fame, which rewards the establishment of Truth.

In the commencement of my inquiry concerning that stupendous Column of Alexandria, with which the general voice of modern times has connected the name of Pompey, it is necessary to remark, that this connection, unheard of in the ages immediately succeeding his own, rests only upon a dark and doubtful tradition, and receives no colour of probability from any authority of ancient history. Other remains of antiquity have been in like manner ascribed to the celebrated rival of Cæsar. At the

Eastern mouth of the Bosphorus a fragment of uncertain age and character is called by his name^a, though standing on a spot which he certainly never visited, and which was never signalized by his arms. But by whom, it may be asked, could the Alexandrian Column, a monument of such extraordinary splendour and magnificence, have ever been erected in honour of Pompey? There is neither evidence nor probability, that it was raised by the weak and effeminate Prince^b, whom he had restored to the throne of Egypt. It is still less likely to have been erected by the treacherous Boy^c, who, regardless of the

^a “A votive Altar placed on the almost inaccessible summit of that [rock] “on the European side is called, by a vulgar error, Pompey’s Pillar.” DALLAWAY’S Constantinople, p. 149. “The small round Altar called Pompey’s Pillar is ornamented with the *caput Bovis*, and festoons, and inscribed “with the name of Caius Cæsar; and Gyllius conjectures, that a column was there erected upon the antient Altar of Apollo, as its base.” Note ib.

Sandys, who travelled into these regions in the year 1610, has given an engraving of this Pillar, to which he has annexed the following description. [p. 40.] “Here, upon the top of a rock environed with the sea, supposed by some to be one of these [the Symplegades] if not too far removed from a fellow to be so, stands a Pillar of white marble, called vulgarly the Pillar of Pompey, the basis whereof did bear these now worn out characters :

DIVO. CÆSARI. AVGVSTO.

L. CLANNIDIVS.

L. F. CLA. PONTO.

^b Ptolemy Auletes.

^c The son of Ptolemy Auletes.

obligations of gratitude, was induced, from motives of the most refined but detestable policy, to murder the patron and benefactor of his family. Nor can we possibly suppose it to have been dedicated to the honour of this illustrious Roman by his more fortunate rival Cæsar, or any of his successors in the empire. Disregarding therefore a name, which apparently rests on groundless tradition, and has its foundation only in vulgar error^d, let us endeavour to obtain some more satisfactory information, and to arrive at a conclusion, which History may warrant, and Reason approve.

And here it evidently becomes an essential and leading object, to inquire at what period this stupendous Column was erected. For, whether it were the production of regal power and munificence; or were reared by a loyal community in gratitude to an imperial benefactor; whether it stood single, and formed a whole by itself; or were a part only and appendage of some great

^d “ La fameuse Colonne de Pompée est auprès d’Alexandrie : on ne fait “ pour quelle raison elle porte le nom de Pompée ; je croirois volontiers “ que c’est par quelque erreur populaire.” MONTFAUCON, Supplem. tom. iii. p. 148.

“ Cette grande et superbe Colonne, que l’on voit hors de la porte de Rofette, est nommée la Colonne de Pompée ; mais personne, je crois, ne “ nous fçauroit dire, d’où dérive cette dénomination. On n’ignore point, “ que Céfâr pleura la mort de ce grand Capitaine ; mais qui nous dira, qu’il “ lui ait érigé ce magnifique monument ?” NORDEN, vol. i. p. 22.

edifice ;—these are either subordinate questions, or would receive a satisfactory answer, if its age were once completely ascertained. The elucidation of this point, therefore, has generally been the first aim of every author who has written upon the subject; and the attempt has given rise to conjectures the most wild and extravagant. Paradoxical inquirers have disagreed so widely respecting the age of the Column, that on the one hand its origin has been assigned to the second century of the Christian æra, and on the other to the remote and unknown period, which witnessed the building of the Pyramids^c.

Of opinions claiming admission by no better title than conjecture, I think it unnecessary to speak: my

^c “ Si, au milieu de ces incertitudes, qui, malgré les recherches savantes, couvrent souvent de la même obscurité le passé et l’avenir, je dois énoncer mon opinion, je serois tenté de faire honneur de l’érection de la Colonne d’Alexandrie aux temps anciens qui ont vu paroître tant de prodiges en Egypte, à ces époques où des milliers d’hommes étoient employés, des années entières, au transport de masses de pierres, dont le mouvement sembloit au-dessus des efforts humains, et exiger ceux d’hommes extraordinaires.” SONNINI, tom. i. p. 139.

To judge of the probability of this notion, it will be sufficient to recollect, that Alexandria was built only about three centuries before the Christian æra: but he who adopts this opinion must believe, likewise, that so singular a monument of Grecian architecture was erected by the Egyptians before the introduction of Grecian arts into their country, and upon the ruins too of an Obelisk still covered with hieroglyphics, and probably once dedicated to the service of their religion.

animadversions will be confined to hypotheses which profess to be founded on facts. If any one of these can stand the test of fair examination, my inquiry concerning the age of the Column is at an end. But if, on mature examination, they shall all appear to be unfounded, I shall myself, in the course of these observations, offer a new hypothesis: and I hope so to interweave this particular investigation with other subjects of literary discussion, as to afford the Reader some little entertainment, even though I should fail to convince him with respect to the principal object of research.

Among the numerous authors, who have attempted to determine the period, in which this Column was erected, there are three, whose opinions have particularly attracted the attention of the learned world; our countryman WORTLEY MONTAGU, BROTIER, and MICHAELIS. The sentiments and arguments of each shall be examined in order, and, for the more perfect satisfaction of the Reader, exhibited, where it is necessary, in their own words.



J. Skoppe Esq. Del.

J. Storer Sculp.

The Situation of Pompey's Pillar with respect to Alexandria.

“ ART. XLII. *A Letter from* EDWARD WORTLEY MON-
 “ TAGU, *Esq. F. R. S. to* WILLIAM WATSON, *M. D.*
 “ *F. R. S. containing some new Observations on what*
 “ *is called POMPEY’S PILLAR in Egypt* *.

“ Sir,

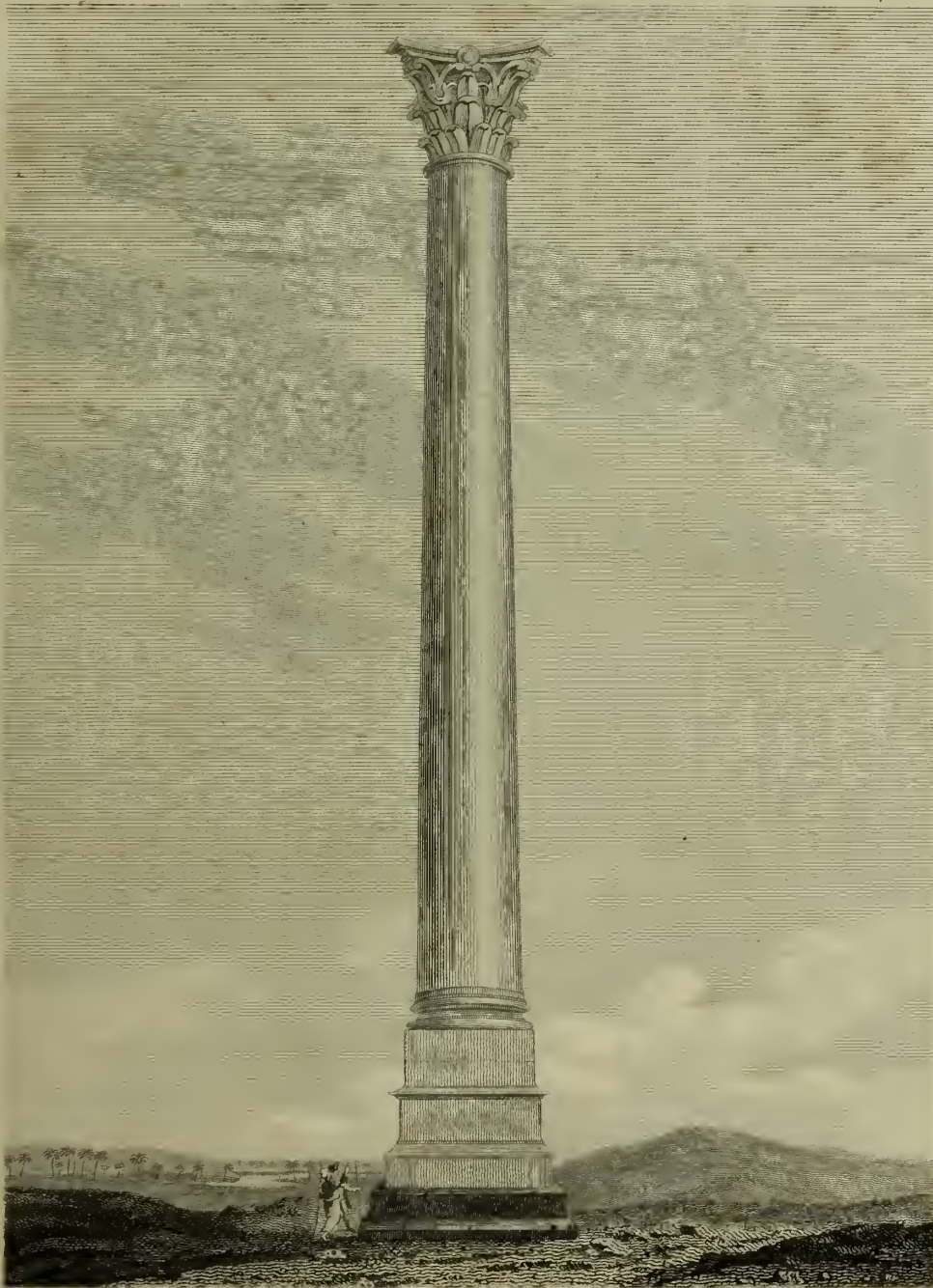
“ I here send you a few lines, which I believe will ap-
 “ pear extraordinary, as every traveller that has been at
 “ Alexandria has mentioned the famous Pillar of Orien-
 “ tal granite, which is about a mile without the walls of
 “ that city, as erected, either by Pompey, or to the ho-
 “ nour of Pompey. As I differ in opinion from them all,
 “ and think this famous Pillar was erected to the honour
 “ of Vespasian, you certainly will expect to hear on what
 “ foundation I found so extraordinary a conjecture, as so
 “ new a one may appear to you. By my mensuration,
 “ the capital of the Pillar is 9 feet 7 inches.

The shaft	—	66	$1\frac{3}{4}$
The base	—	5	$9\frac{3}{4}$
The pedestal	—	10	$5\frac{2}{4}$
Height from the ground		92	0
Diameter	—	9	1

“ As soon as I saw this surprising Pillar, I was con-
 “ vinced that, if it had been erected in Pompey’s time,

* Philosoph. Transact. vol. lvii. p. 438.

“ Strabo, or some of the ancients, would have mentioned
“ it. I therefore determined to examine it narrowly. I
“ perceived too that the pedestal was of a bad and weak
“ masonry, composed of small and great stones, of dif-
“ ferent sorts, and absolutely unable to sustain so great
“ a weight; I therefore easily concluded such pedestal
“ not originally belonging to the Pillar. I attempted to
“ get out a stone, which I did without trouble, and dis-
“ covered the pedestal to be hollow. After some time,
“ I mean, during the course of many days, I made an
“ opening wide enough to enter it; when within it, you
“ will judge how much I was surprised to find this pro-
“ digious mass of granite stood, as on a pivot, on a re-
“ versed obelisk, as I then believed it was, only five feet
“ square. Curious to know the length of the obelisk, I
“ began to move the earth on one of its sides; but my
“ surprise increased much, when I found, after moving a
“ few inches of the soil, that the obelisk was not entire,
“ this pivot being only four feet and one inch thick. It
“ is seated on a rock: the stone is of an extreme hard-
“ ness, and almost a petrification, or rather conglutina-
“ tion of many different stones, but all vitrescent. I
“ never met with any stone of this kind any where, ex-
“ cept with one small piece on the plain of the mom-
“ mies; I broke a piece of it, which Lord Bute has: a
“ small piece too of the Pillar was sent; that gentlemen
“ may be convinced it is of red granite, and not a com-



J. Storer sc.

Pompey's Pillar from Dalton.

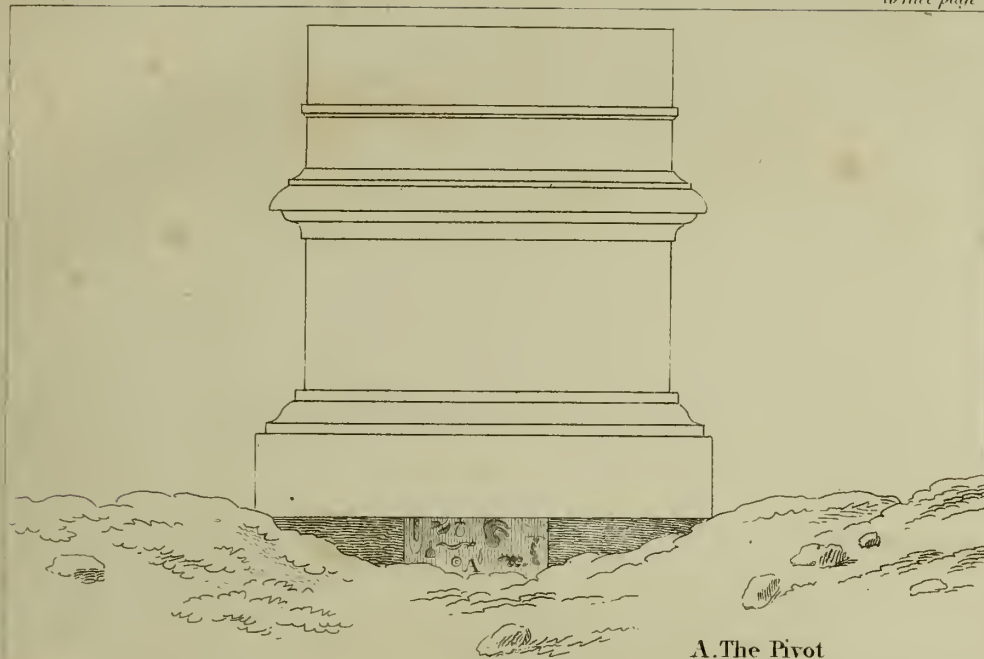




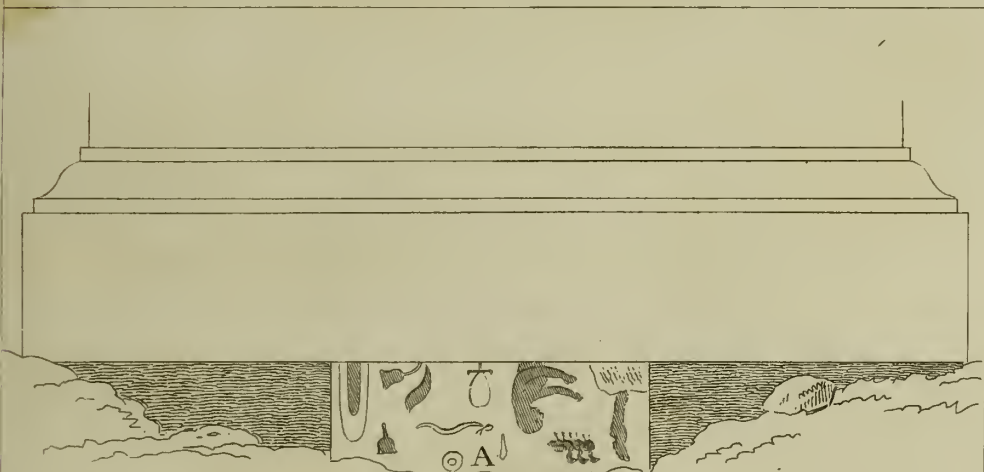
J. Storer sc.

Base of Pompey's Pillar from Aordens Pl. XI.



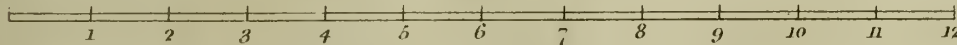


A. The Pivot



A. The Pivot with inverted Hieroglyphics

Feet



“ position, as some have imagined. This part of the
“ obelisk is covered with hieroglyphics, which are re-
“ versed; a plain proof the Pillar was not erected whilst
“ they were held sacred characters. Convinced, there-
“ fore, that it was not of the antiquity one would sup-
“ pose it, from being called of Pompey; I visited it se-
“ veral times, to see if it might not be possible to find
“ out something that would give room for a reasonable
“ conjecture, in honour of whom, or at what time it
“ was erected. From the inscription I could discover
“ nothing. It is on the west face of the base; but so
“ much injured by time, and I may say too, by malice,
“ for the marks of an instrument are plainly discovered
“ effacing it, that one can but imperfectly make out some
“ Greek characters, so imperfectly indeed, that no one
“ word can be found. At length, observing that the ce-
“ ment, or mortar, which closes the small separation of
“ the shaft from the base, was quite destroyed in one part,
“ I was curious to see if any thing was made use of within
“ to fasten or tie the shaft to the base; I saw there was:
“ being desirous to know if it was lead, and if so, if
“ it was not of that pure, and of which we still meet
“ with some few medals, I endeavoured with a pretty
“ large hanger to cut off a small piece of the grapple:
“ there was a great number of lizards which had taken
“ shelter there, and which run out on my introducing
“ the hanger. I then discovered a dark spot, at the dis-

“ tance of more than a foot, within the circumference
 “ of the Pillar; which, by striking it with the hanger, I
 “ found, was something stuck fast to the base; after
 “ striking it several times, I detached it from its place,
 “ and it proved a medal of Vespasian, in fine order.

“ ART. KAIZ. ΣΕΒΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΙ - - - -

“ The reverse is,

“ VICTORIA GRADIENS; DEXTRA SPICAS, SINIS. PALMAM.

This medal was shewn to the Royal Society.

“ The reversed hieroglyphics are a proof that this
 “ amazing monument was not erected before Pompey’s
 “ time; and as there is no mention of it in Strabo, or
 “ any one of the ancient writers that I have met with,
 “ it seems plain it was not known before the time of
 “ Vespasian. This medal could not by any accident, I
 “ think, have been introduced above a foot within the
 “ circumference of the shaft; therefore I suppose it was
 “ placed there, when the Pillar was erected; which
 “ from thence I conclude to have been done to the
 “ honour of that Emperor; and perhaps on his restor-
 “ ing the cripple to the use of his limbs. If you think
 “ this paper worth it, you will please to communicate it
 “ to the Royal Society, and that of the Antiquaries.

“ The Pillar is exactly shewn, with the pivot it stands
 “ upon, with a reference to the spot, the medal was

“ found upon, in the view of it that I have sent to
“ England.

“ I beg you will assure the Society of my respect, and
“ how happy I shall be to execute any of their com-
“ mands.

“ And I hope you will rest persuaded of the true con-
“ fideration, with which

“ I am,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your most humble Servant,

Zante,

“ Ed. Wortley Montagu.”

May 7, 1767.

In this singular account one conclusion is introduced, which seems to be perfectly just. From the reversed hieroglyphics that appear on the broken obelisk, the author fairly infers, that the Column was not placed on this foundation whilst hieroglyphics were regarded with religious reverence, that is, whilst the Egyptians were masters of their own country. But how we can infer, from this circumstance, that it is less ancient than the time of Pompey, it is not easy to discover; nor has he even attempted to shew. He endeavours indeed to prove this from the silence of Strabo, and other ancient writers. This argument, which must be acknowledged to possess

some weight, I shall hereafter attempt to refute. But did our traveller consider, that the same reasoning might be directed with far greater force against his own hypothesis? Did he recollect that the pages of Tacitus contain not one syllable in support of his conjecture? We are informed by this historian, that the Emperor Vespasian passed some months at Alexandria, waiting for a fair wind to convey him to Italy, and in this interval performed certain *pretended* miraculous cures, and saw a vision in the temple of Serapis^f. These wondrous tales

^f “ Per eos menses, quibus Vespasianus Alexandriae statos æstivis flatibus
 “ dies, et certa maris, opperiebatur, multa miracula evenire, quibus cæli fa-
 “ vor, et quædam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. Ex
 “ plebe Alexandrina quidam, oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus advolvitur,
 “ remedium cæcitatibus exposcens gemitu, monitu Serapidis dei, quem dedita
 “ superstitionibus gens ante alios colit: precabaturque Principem, ‘ ut genas
 “ et oculorum orbis dignaretur respergere oris excremento.’ Alius manum
 “ æger, eodem deo auctore, ‘ ut pede ac vestigio Cæsaris calcaretur,’ orabat.
 “ Vespasianus primo inridere, aspernari; atque illis instantibus, modo fa-
 “ mam vanitatis metuere, modo obsecratione ipsorum, et vocibus adulantium
 “ in spem induci: postremo existimari a medicis jubet, an talis cæcitas ac
 “ debilitas ope humana superabiles forent. Medici varie differere: ‘ Huic non
 “ exesam vim luminis, et redituram, si pellerentur obstantia: illi elapsos in
 “ pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. Id fortasse cordi
 “ deis, et divino ministerio Principem electum: denique patrati remedii
 “ gloriam penes Cæsarem; inriti ludibrium penes miseros fore.’ Igitur Vef-
 “ pasianus, cuncta fortunæ suæ patere ratus, nec quidquam ultra incredi-
 “ bile, læto ipse vultu, erecta quæ astabat multitudine, jussu exsequitur.
 “ Statim conversa ad usum manus, ac cæco reluxit dies. Utrumque, qui
 “ interfuere nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium.
 “ Altior inde Vespasiano cupido adeundi sacram ædem, ut super rebus

are related at length, and the course of the history is afterwards interrupted to exhibit an account of Serapis, and to trace the origin of the worship paid to him in Alexandria. But in all this narration no mention is found of any public monument there dedicated to the Emperor[§]; an omission, which can never be reconciled

“ imperii confuleret. ‘ Arceri templo cunctos’ jubet : atque ingressus, intentusque numini, respexit pone tergum e primoribus Ægyptiorum, nomine Basiliden; quem procul Alexandria plurium dierum itinere, et ægro corpore detineri haud ignorabat. Percunctatur sacerdotes, ‘ num illo die ‘ Basilides templum inisset?’ percunctatur obvios, ‘ num in urbe visus sit?’ denique, missis equitibus, explorat, illo temporis momento, octoginta milibus passuum abfuisse. Tunc divinam speciem, et vim responsi ex nomine Basilidis, interpretatus est.” TACIT. Hist. l. iv. §. 81, 82. ed. Brotier.

§ There is likewise some ground for doubting, whether Vespasian would have approved of any honour done to himself of so expensive a nature as this magnificent Column; and we may believe that it would not have been done without his permission. The prevailing foible of this Prince, it is well known, was an inordinate love of money; which however he contrived to render less offensive to his subjects by occasional sallies of wit and pleasantry. One of those good-humoured jests, which his biographer Suetonius has preserved, is connected with a fact so similar to the present, that I shall introduce it without apology. It seems that the inhabitants of a certain city, designing to pay him a compliment, sent a deputation of their citizens, to acquaint him, that they had voted a large sum for a colossal statue of him. *Place it here*, said he, holding out his hand; *the base is ready for it, you see*. And from the words of the historian we are left to conclude, that this pleasantry contained a serious demand, and that the Emperor considered the money as preferable to the honour*.

* Suet. in Vesp. §. 23. The same story is also related by Xiphilin and Zonaras. It may be observed, that Suetonius, who relates the *pretended* miracles and vision at Alexandria, is equally silent with Tacitus respecting any public memorial erected there in honour of Vespasian.

with the supposition, that, at any time within the historian's knowledge, the most magnificent column in the universe had been raised for this very purpose.

If a medal of Vespasian had been repositied between the shaft and the base of the Column, at the time, and for the purpose, which Montagu supposed, we might have expected to find on it an impression somewhat more appropriate to the occasion. It was reported and believed, that the residence of Vespasian at Alexandria had been signalized by the most extraordinary events of his life. It was even said, that the chief Deity of that city had distinguished him by repeated marks of his regard. If then the Column was erected by him, or by others in honour of his name, the medal so placed would probably have preserved the remembrance of these wonderful events; and piety, or gratitude, or vanity would have suggested some device to exhibit the Emperor as the distinguished favourite of Heaven: in short, it would have borne some reference to Serapis. For, since it is certainly known that the name of Serapis appears on other medals of Vespasian, as well as those of his son Domitian^h, it is incredible that it should have been ex-

^h Pellerin, *Mélange de diverses Médailles*, tom. i. p. 224. "In nummo
" Vespasiani, ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒΑΣ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. id est, *Imperatoris Cæ-*
" *saris Augusti Vespasiani*. In averſa parte, ΖΕΥΣ. ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣ. i. e. *Jupiter*
" *Serapis*.

cluded from this, when it had so just and singular a claim to admiffion.

But there is something ftill behind, which takes from the credit of the whole account. It is faid, that the pretended difcovery of the medal was nothing more than a fraudulent contrivance to impofe on the credulity of the learned. A modern French traveller into Egypt informs us, that the trick was known at Alexandria, and would not pafs on thofe who knew the Column. His authority, which I fhould affuredly never produce in oppofition to evidence of approved refpectability, may in this inftance be taken for the exiftence of a common reportⁱ : for it

“ In nummo Domitiani, ΑΥΤ.ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. ΔΟ...ΤΙΑΝΟΣ. ΣΕΒ. ΓΕΡΜ. i. e. *Imperator Cæfar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus*. In averfa parte, ΗΑΙΟΣ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣ. i. e. *Sol Serapis*.” Brotier’s Edition of TACITUS, vol. iii. p. 534, 5. N.

ⁱ “ Le chevalier de Montagu, que fes vaftes connoiffances et fes aventures ont rendu célèbre, s’étoit formé, pendant le long féjour qu’il a fait en Orient, une nouvelle opinion fur le même fujet. Il vouloit que la Colonne fût *l’ouvrage d’Adrien*, autre empereur Romain, qui avoit voyagé en Egypte. Mais il n’avoit aucune preuve : voulant néanmoins accréditer fon opinion, il fut obligé, afin de perfuader aux autres ce qu’il s’étoit perfuadé à lui-même, d’ufer d’une petite fupercherie. Je tiens le fait d’un témoin irréprochable. Le favant Anglois avoit fait infinuer, par un de fes gens, une petite médaille de *l’empereur Adrien*, dans un endroit qu’il avoit indiqué, entre le fol fur lequel pofe la Colonne et fon ftyle. Il fe rendit enfuite fur les lieux en nombreufe compagnie, et après des recherches feintes, il fit tomber adroitement, avec la lame d’un couteau, la

muſt be acknowledged, that the character of our countryman was not ſo eſtabliſhed for veracity, as not to be vulnerable even by an antagoniſt like the preſent^k. I may therefore diſmiſs the hypotheſis with obſerving, that it reſts entirely on the relation of an author, whom we may more juſtly admire for eccentric ingenuity and various learning, than for modeſt diffidence and ſcrupulous attachment to truth.

“ médaille qu’il montra comme une preuve incontestable de la vérité de ſa découverte. Il la communiqua dans ſa patrie : elle n’y eut pas un grand ſuccès, et elle ne pouvoit y en obtenir beaucoup, aux yeux de ceux qui connoiſſoient la Colonne, &c.” SONNINI, tom. i. p. 136.

The reader will not fail to obſerve the careleſſneſs, or ignorance, which ſubſtitutes the name of *Adrian* for *Veſpaſian* in this narration.

^k Extraſt of a Letter from my worthy and ingenious friend JOHN SKIPPE, Eſq. who travelled into Egypt, and other parts of the Levant, ſome few years ſince, and to whom this publication is indebted for the valuable Drawings, from which plates I. and IV. have been engraved.

“ Dear Sir,

OVERBURY, Oct. 13, 1785.

“ I was favoured with your Letter of the 27th of laſt month, incloſing me a copy of Mr. Montagu’s upon the ſubject of the Pillar. The account appears to me to be a very juſt one ; and his conjectures, ſtrengthened by the circumſtance of the medal, ſeem to have ſome degree of weight and plauſibility : how far we may venture to give credit to the finding of the medal, I do not know, as he was a man whoſe veracity has been too frequently called in queſtion, and oftentimes with reaſon, &c.
“ &c.”

SECT.

SECT. II.

THE next opinion which I am to consider is grounded upon evidence of another kind, and supported by arguments more open to examination.

BROTIER, the learned editor of Tacitus, in his notes upon that classic, has attempted to determine the age and founder of the Column by an authority, which, if it had any existence, would be indisputable and decisive. He says, “*prope Columnam Pompeii, ut vulgo loquuntur; quam verius Columnam Dionysii Ptolemæi dicent, ut ex semelvis Inscriptionis literis observavit P. Sicard, egregius Ægyptiacarum Antiquitatum indagator*¹.”—That is, Father Sicard discovered by the remains of the Inscription, that the Column ought rather to be attributed to one of the Ptolemies. Now, a reference to Father Sicard, who is named as the author of this important discovery, will afford a manifest proof, how little reliance is to be placed on the fidelity of the French writer. The passage in Sicard runs thus: “*Il est étonnant que tout ce qu’il y a eu d’an-*

¹ Tacitus, tom. iii. p. 535. edit. Brot.

“ ciens auteurs n’ayant pas donné la moindre connois-
“ sance du temps, auquel cette Colonne a été placée, du
“ nom de l’ouvrier, de l’usage qu’on en vouloit faire :
“ étant la plus haute et la plus singulière qui ait été
“ vue dans le monde, à ce que l’on sçache, il étoit du de-
“ voir des historiens de marquer en détail ces circon-
“ stances. Quelques modernes l’ont appelée la Colonne
“ de Pompée, et ce nom lui est demeuré ; mais assuré-
“ ment ils l’ont fait sans aucun fondement, s’ils parlent
“ de sa première construction. Il y a de fortes conjec-
“ tures qu’elle est faite du temps de Ptolémée Everge-
“ tes premier, et non pas sous les Dynasties des Egyp-
“ tiens, sous les Perses lorsqu’ils étoient maîtres de
“ l’Egypte, ou sous Alexandre, encore moins sous les
“ Romains^m. - - - - Sur la face [du piédestal] qui est
“ du côté de l’Ouest, déclinant un peu au Nord, il y
“ a dans la plinte une Inscription Grecque en cinq
“ lignes ; mais à huit ou dix lettres près, séparées, et
“ nullement de suite, le reste est presque effacéⁿ.”

From these words it does indeed appear, that Father Sicard might entertain a strong opinion, that the Column was coeval with Ptolemy Euergetes : but for this opinion he alleges no reason ; he pretends to nothing more certain than conjecture : and so far from support-

^m Lettres édifiantes, tom. v. p. 482.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 483.

ing Brotier's assertion, in the only point which he was quoted to prove, (viz. that he collected what he knew, or thought, of the Column from the Inscription,) he tells us expressly, that, with the exception of eight or ten unconnected letters, all the rest of the Inscription was obliterated.

It would be a waste of time to pursue any farther this phantom of an argument, which Brotier has raised; but to shew how improbable it is that any information should be obtained from the Inscription, it might be proved from the universal voice of modern travellers, that it has been illegible for the space of a century at least, and that no writer within that period appears to have known, or even conjectured, any thing of its meaning.

The evidence of Father Sicard has been given above. This diligent and devout missionary was long resident in Egypt, and died there of the plague about the year 1716. The accounts of the Inscription, which have been published by some other travellers of the highest reputation, shall be here added for the fuller satisfaction of the reader.

M. DE MAILLET was born in Lorraine, in the year 1659. In 1692 he was appointed Consul General of

Egypt, and held that situation with great credit sixteen years. He did not publish any thing himself, but left behind him papers and memoirs, from which those works which bear his name were afterwards selected. From these papers of M. de Maillet, the Abbé Mascrier drew up the Description of Egypt, which was published under his name in the year 1743. His account of the Inscription on the Column is contained in the following words : ——— “ au bas de son fût du côté de l'Ouest on
“ trouve une Inscription Grecque, dont je ne crois pas
“ qu'on ait encore tiré de copie. Aussi est-il impossible
“ de la lire à cause de la couleur variée du marbre qui
“ compose cette piece.” P. 144.

To the munificent patronage of two successive Kings of Denmark we are indebted for some of the most accurate and scientific descriptions of Eastern Antiquities. NORDEN travelled into Egypt by the command of Christian VI. and resided there about twelve months, from the beginning of the year 1737 to 1738 : during which time he was diligently employed in investigating the state of the country, and especially in examining the magnificent remains of ancient art, with which it abounds. His observations on the Inscription, of which I am speaking, are these—“ Je remarquerai seulement,
“ que comme cette Colonne est de l'ordre Corinthien, cela
“ semble fixer son érection au tems des Ptolémées.....Une

“ Inſcription, qu’on découvre avec peine ſur un des côtés
“ du piédeſtal, pourroit, ſans doute, donner quelque lu-
“ mière là-deſſus; mais le tems l’a ſi peu ménagée, qu’elle
“ n’eſt guère déchiffrable. Un voyageur, qui l’a obſer-
“ vée une vingtaine d’années avant moi, prétend avoir
“ pu diſtinguer, qu’elle étoit écrite en caractères Grecs.
“ Je m’en rapporte.” P. 22.

NIEBUHR, who travelled into Egypt in the year 1761, and who, unfortunately for the cauſe of ſcience, was the only ſurvivor of the five perſons ſent out at the expence of Frederic V. to viſit Egypt, Arabia, and other parts of the Eaſt, has given us the following account of the Inſcription on the baſe of the Column. “ Je n’ai pu diſtin-
“ guer clairement que quelques caractères de l’Inſcription,
“ dont le côté du Sud-Oueſt de la Colonne eſt chargé. M.
“ DE HAVEN ſe donna bien de la peine, pour en découvrir
“ davantage : mais il ne put à beaucoup près en recon-
“ noître autant que d’autres prétendent en avoir recon-
“ nu avant nous. Il paroît, que l’Architecte Grec n’a
“ pas voulu immortalifer ſon nom par cette Inſcription,
“ ou qu’il n’a pas connu la nature de la pierre auſſi
“ bien que les anciens Egyptiens. Car ſi les Grecs euſ-
“ ſent taillé cette Inſcription auſſi profondément dans
“ la Colonne, que les Egyptiens ont taillé les hiéro-
“ glyphes dans les obélifques, elle ne ſeroit pas devenue
“ méconnoiſſable. D’ailleurs les anciens avoient coutume

“ de charger de caractères les quatre côtés de leurs
 “ obélisques ; et l’Inscription Grecque de cette Colonne
 “ est précisément du côté, qui a le plus souffert des in-
 “ jures du temps.” Tom. i. p. 39.

I shall conclude with the evidence of Bishop Pococke; because his description is more particular than that of any other writer. “ There are some signs of a
 “ Greek Inscription on the west side, which can hardly
 “ be discerned, unless the sun shines on it : it consists
 “ of four lines : what letters I could make any conjec-
 “ ture of, I have given below °.

“ $\frac{1}{\text{O}}$. . . 7 OCOTATOI P. O. P. TA

“ TCC . . O CONIOY. TONAAEAAA

“ ΔIC MAPPOAIION TON AAI. .

“ ΠΟCE ΑΡΑCC”

From these passages which I have now laid before my readers, they will have it in their power to decide at once, how entirely destitute of foundation is the assertion of Brotier, and how little assistance the Inscription on the base of the Column is capable of affording, towards enabling us to fix with certainty its true date, or assign its genuine origin.

But it is impossible for me to quit this part of my sub-

° Description of the East, vol. i. p. 8.

ject, without stating one circumstance, which to me appears in the highest degree extraordinary. Our learned countryman JOHN GREAVES, who was eminent for his skill in the Greek, Persian, and Arabic languages, as well as for his profound and extensive knowledge of mathematical subjects, travelled into Egypt in the year 1638, and, during his stay in that country, resided six months at Alexandria^p. One object, which this most ingenious and accurate traveller had particularly in view, was, as he himself informs us, to determine “ how the
“ originals and standards of weights and measures, notwithstanding the revolutions and vicissitudes of empires, might be perpetuated to posterity. Amongst
“ several ways,” continues he, “ of which I thought, I know none more certain and unquestionable, than to
“ compare them with some remarkable and lasting monuments in remote countries, that have stood unimpaired for many hundred years, and are likely to continue as many more. In which kind I made choice
“ of the first and most easterly of the three great Pyramids in Egypt, and of *the basis* of that admirable Corinthian Pillar, erected, as I suppose, by one of the Ptolemies, a quarter of a mile distant to the south
“ from Alexandria, &c. &c.” Vol. i. p. 345.

^p “ Sex continuos menses Alexandriæ hæsi.” *Miscellaneous works of Mr. John Greaves.* Vol. i. p. 454.

In pursuance of this design, our traveller measured the breadth of the base of the Column, with the utmost accuracy, at two different heights; and it well deserves to be remembered, that the side of the base which he chose for this purpose was *the western side*. The breadth of the base, as he tells us, at the greatest height at which he measured it, is 12 feet $\frac{539}{1000}$; at the other height he found it to be 14 feet $\frac{417}{1000}$. (Vol. i. p. 347.)

Of the Inscription, however, the traces of which later travellers have observed on this western side of the base, nothing is said by Greaves, though it appears to have been his custom, in other parts of his works, to pay particular attention to things of a similar nature. If the Inscription indeed existed at that time, we can scarcely conceive that it should have escaped the observation of so intelligent and industrious an inquirer; employed too, as he certainly was, in measuring with such minute accuracy the breadth of the base at two distinct heights, and on that very side of it where the letters are said to be inscribed. I must add too, as a still stronger circumstance, that whoever will take the trouble to compare the diagram, which Greaves has given, with the plate of Bishop Pococke, cannot fail to observe, that the uppermost of the lines across the base measured by Greaves passes directly over the place which Pococke has assigned to the Inscription itself. We

may therefore, at least, safely infer from the silence of Greaves on this subject, that the Inscription, if it did then at all exist, was either so insignificant, or so nearly obliterated, as to be deemed unworthy of his notice.

SECT. III.

THE name, which the Alexandrian Column obtained amongst the Arabs, has given rise to a third hypothesis for ascertaining its age; an hypothesis, which owes its chief support to the respectable character of MICHAELIS; whose distinguished talents have been so conspicuously exerted in the cause of sacred literature, that to differ from him on any subject without hesitation and pain, were to be wanting in respect for the purest intentions, the most unwearied diligence, and the most profound erudition. To this eminent Orientalist we are indebted for the publication of the original text of Abulfeda's Geography of Egypt with a Latin translation and notes^a. In the short account of Alexandria given by Abulfeda, the Column is called in Arabic *عمود السواري* *Amûd Iffawâri*, which Michaelis renders, "The Pillar of Severus".

^a Printed at Goettingen in 1776.

^r "Columnam Severi] Est Columna sic dicta Pompeii, quam delineatam
"videbis in Pocokiani itinerarii tabula IV. Nordenianique XI. XII. descrip-
"tam a plerisque, qui Alexandriam adierunt. Pompeii, cujus ei nomen,
"nescio quo casu, tribuitur, eam esse non posse, monuerunt aliqui, nullam
"enim ejus mentionem facere Strabonem, aliosque, qui Cæsaris et Augusti

Now, from the high rank which Michaelis justly held in the republic of letters, and his accurate knowledge of two Oriental languages, the Hebrew and Syriac, it was natural to expect, that his opinion, on so curious a subject, would be adopted by various other writers. Professor Wahl, who translated my first edition of Abdollatif into German^s, considers this interpretation of the Arabic words, as exact and unexceptionable^t: and Mr. Brownè,

“ tempore fatis adcurate de Alexandria exposuerint. Conjecerunt ergo alii,
 “ Tito Vespasiano positam esse, aut Hadriano ; sed sunt, ut dixi, conjectu-
 “ ræ. Eo majoris faciendus Abulfeda, ex quo discimus, seculo adhuc XIII.
 “ nomen *Severi* Columnæ hæsisse. Nec veri dissimile, Severo, qui et Alex-
 “ andriam adiit, et maxima in urbem contulit beneficia, senatum quoque,
 “ quo antea caruerat, ei dedit, statuat a grata urbe erectam. Spartianus
 “ in vita Severi, c. xvii. *Alexandriam petiit - - - Alexandrinis jus bulentiarum*
 “ *dedit, qui sine consilio, ita ut sub regibus antea vivebant, uno contenti iudice,*
 “ *quem Cæsar dedisset. Multa præterea his jura mutavit. Jucundam sibi pere-*
 “ *grinationem propter religionem dei Serapis, et propter novitatem animalium et*
 “ *locorum fuisse, Severus ipse postea ostendit. Nam et Memphim, et Menmonem,*
 “ *et Pyramides, et Labyrinthum diligenter inspexit.*

“ Græcorum cum esset Alexandria, ac diu quoque post, sub Arabum im-
 “ periis, Græcis in ea multis habitantibus inscriptionibusque Columnæ ad-
 “ huc integris, certo sciri, et ad posteritatem non dubia traditione, ipsoque
 “ etiam nomine, propalari potuit, cujus esset. Severi certe nomen Arabs
 “ non confinxerit, forte quis fuerit Severus ignorans. Videmur ergo jam
 “ tandem aliquando de nobilissimo antiquitatis monumento aliquid certe
 “ statuere posse : idque adeo novum recentioribus et ignotum, ut Reiskius,
 “ &c. &c.” MICHAELIS ad Abulfedam, p. 94.

^s Printed at Halle, 1790.

^t “ I am doubtful from what the name *El Sewari* is derived. Michaelis mentions the Emperor *Severus*, and I know of nothing which can

whose skill in that language is, I hope, superior to his regard for Divine revelation", as readily accedes to it: for having mentioned in his text, "The Column usually, "but improperly, termed of Pompey," he adds in a note, "Now supposed to be erected in honour of "Severus^x."

But a wider diffusion has been given to this hypothesis by the popular Letters of SAVARY^y, a man of little learning, and perhaps less knowledge of Antiquity; of whom were I to affirm, that he has had the assurance to publish a volume of Travels in Upper Egypt, without having set his foot in the country, I should only repeat what his own countryman has asserted, as it should seem, without fear of contradiction or reply^z.

"be objected to this explanation." WAHL's translation of Abdollatif, p. 138.

^u BROWNE's Travels, p. 362, 363.

^x Ibid. p. 6.

^y Published at Paris in 1786.

^z "Il est à remarquer encore que peu de voyageurs François ont pénétré dans l'Egypte supérieure. Aucun de ceux qui, dans ces derniers temps, ont acquis de la célébrité, n'a poussé ses recherches au-delà de la plaine de Saccara, c'est-à-dire, au-delà des environs du Caire. Savary lui-même, qui a publié deux volumes sur la haute Egypte, n'y avoit jamais mis le pied: et le ton d'affurance avec lequel il en parle, les détails qu'il donne de ce voyage, comme s'il eût été réel, font une tache à la réputation de cet élégant écrivain. J'ai beaucoup connu Savary; je l'ai vu à

In the account which he gives of his Travels in Lower Egypt, he produces the testimony of Abulfeda, in proof that the proper title of the Alexandrian Column is “ the “ Pillar of Severus ;” thus plainly insinuating, it should seem, that he himself had made this important discovery, and unfairly suppressing all mention of Michaelis. His words are these—“ Les sçavans et les voyageurs ont fait “ des efforts infructueux pour découvrir à quel Prince on “ l’avoit érigée. Les plus sages ont pensé que ce ne pou- “ voit être en l’honneur de Pompée, puisque Strabon et “ Diodore de Sicile n’en ont point parlé. Ils sont restés “ dans le doute. Il me semble qu’Abulfeda pouvoit les “ en tirer. Il l’appelle *la Colonne de Sévère*, et l’histoire “ nous apprend que cet Empereur visita l’Egypte^a, donna “ un sénat à la ville d’Alexandrie, et mérita bien de ses “ habitans. Cette Colonne fut une marque de leur gra-

“ Alexandrie, dans l’île de Candie, et depuis en France. Le succès mérité “ du premier volume de ses Lettres sur l’Egypte, auquel son intention avoit “ été de se borner, puisqu’il contenoit les seules parties de cette contrée où “ il eût voyagé, l’avoit enivré. Il voulut y ajouter un voyage qu’il n’avoit “ pas fait, et il a été réduit à extraire, à copier Hérodote, Strabon, Diodore, “ &c.” SONNINI, tom. i. p. 12.

^a “ L’Empereur Sévère se rendit dans la ville d’Alexandrie. Il accorda “ un sénat à ses habitans, qui jusqu’alors, soumis à l’autorité d’un seul ma- “ gistrat Romain, avoient vécu sans conseil national comme sous les Ptolé- “ mées, ou la volonté du prince étoit leur loi. Sévère ne borna pas là ses “ bienfaits, il changea plusieurs loix en leur faveur. *Spartien*, ch. xvii. vie “ de l’Empereur Sévère.” SAVARY, p. 35. N.

“ titude ; l’Inscription Grecque, à moitié effacée que l’on
“ y voit du côté de l’occident, lorsque le soleil l’éclaire,
“ étoit sans doute lisible du tems d’Abulfeda, et conser-
“ voit le nom de Sévère. Ce n’est pas le seul monument
“ que la reconnoissance des Alexandrins lui ait élevé.
“ On voit au milieu des ruines d’Antinoë, bâtie par
“ Adrien, une magnifique Colonne dont l’Inscription,
“ encore subsistante, la dédie à ALEXANDRE SEVERE.”
P. 34.

A courteous reader might suppose that MONSIEUR SAVARY had examined the original authors with critical accuracy, had spent many a long and toilsome night in exploring the inmost recesses of Oriental as well as European literature, and was on terms of familiar intimacy with volumes almost forgotten by the learned themselves, and utterly inaccessible to vulgar scholars. Even those who might suspect that such quotations were borrowed, and who, upon consulting the work of Michaelis, would discover whence they were taken, might yet give Monsieur Savary credit at least for having consulted the authorities referred to by the learned Professor : and yet certain, most certain it is, that he could not possibly have seen the passage in Spartianus ; since the Severus spoken of by that Historian in the chapter referred to, is not Alexander Severus, who began his reign A. D. 222. (and who moreover never

was in Egypt) but Septimius Severus, whose reign commenced A. D. 193.

I return now to the Arabic expression *Amûd Iſſawâri*, by which Pompey's Pillar was distinguished in the middle ages; and I hesitate not to affirm, that it has no other signification whatever than "The Column of the Pillars."

To an English ear this phrase will perhaps appear rather tautologous. Our language affords no correspondent term, no word equally extensive with *Amûd*; which includes both the round and the square Pillar; and may be applied to a Grecian column, or an Egyptian obelisk. At the time when the Arabic language first prevailed in Egypt, there were only two extraordinary objects of this kind remaining in Alexandria; Cleopatra's Needle, and Pompey's Pillar; and the inhabitants appear to have distinguished them by their local situation; calling the one, *Amûd il Bahri*, "The Column of the Sea," and the other, *Amûd Iſſawâri*, "The Column of the Pillars^b."

^b That is, perhaps, by or near the Pillars. In the same manner Bp. Pococke understood an analogous expression, *Akmud* [i. e. *Amûd*] *Bijige* *, to signify the Column near Bijige: and that the expression, "The Pillars,"

* Vol. i. p. 59.

It is, however, necessary to shew that some reason existed for the use of this appellation, as descriptive of the Column. Now Bp. Pococke informs us explicitly, that there *still remain* some fragments of granite Pillars, four feet in diameter, near the Column of Pompey^c: and we have the most positive testimony of the Arabic writers of the middle ages, a testimony as much to be depended on in this instance as that of any Greek or Roman writer, that, in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, there were more than four hundred of these Pillars standing in the immediate vicinity of the Column. So that this magnificent Monument at that time might evidently be called, with singular propriety, “THE COLUMN of the Pillars.”

It appears, therefore, that neither the suspected Medal of Vespasian, the illegible Inscription on the base, nor the mistaken Version of the passage in Abulfeda, can afford any satisfactory information with respect to the history of the Column. But having now, I trust, removed at least some of the impediments that obstructed

was sometimes used as a local term, may perhaps be inferred from hence, that the ruins of Persepolis are to this day called in the language of Persia, *Chehel Minar*, “The forty Pillars*.”

^c Vol. i. p. 8.

* See Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 99.

our way, it is time to quit this part of the subject for another; in the investigation of which, while I endeavour to present the reader with an interesting object of curiosity, some discovery may perhaps be made, which will facilitate the remainder of our INQUIRY.

SECT. IV.

PLUTARCH, in his well known Treatise on Isis and Ofiris, digresses from the main object of his work to introduce some observations on the ALEXANDRIAN SERAPIS^d; which, notwithstanding, contribute to the illustration of the topic he is discussing. After the example of this eminent writer, I will here venture on a digression concerning the ALEXANDRIAN TEMPLE of Serapis^e.

^d Περὶ Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδ. Edit. SAUVRE, p. 67. et Versio Anglic. ibid. p. 35.

^e Pausanias, in his description of Athens, observes :——ἐντιϋθεν ἰᾶσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως, Σαράπιδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίῃς θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο. Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἱερὰ Σαράπιδος, ἐπιφανέστατον μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μίμφει. ATTICA, edit. KUHN, p. 42.

“Ce Temple [*de Sérapis, à Alexandrie*] étoit situé auprès du petit Port, “ nommé Εὐνοσον, dans le quartier Rhacotis, sur un terrain très-sabloneux, où “ les vents élevoient d’immenses tourbillons de sable.” LANGLES, Magasin Encyclopédique, Mémoire sur Alexandrie, V. Année, tom. iii. p. 381.

The latter part of this Note reminds me of a similar remark I have read in TEMPLEMAN’S translation of Norden’s travels. Edit. fol. vol. i. p. 21. Templeman’s words are—“Strabo mentions, ‘That the Serapium is situated ‘ in a very sandy place, inasmuch that vast heaps of sand are raised by the ‘ winds.’ From this circumstance, I think it evident, that the Serapium “ could not be situated near the Nile; for the slime of so muddy a river would “ necessarily compact more firmly the sands.”

Since the restoration of letters, no regular attempt, as far as I know, has been made to examine the history of this splendid monument of Grecian Antiquity. I shall therefore collect such notices as remain concerning it; and though they detain the Reader awhile from the proposed object of inquiry, they will perhaps afford him a more distinct idea of an edifice, celebrated, by the concurrent testimony of all ancient authors, as superior in grandeur and magnificence to every Heathen Temple, with the single exception of the Roman Capitol.

To Ruffinus, who wrote about the end of the fourth century, we are indebted for the most complete and interesting description which remains of the FORM of the Sera-

Now, as Templeman applies the above quotation from Strabo to the *Alexandrian Serapeum*, it is clear that he did not consult the original Greek; for Strabo, in the passage alluded to, speaks only of the Serapeum of Memphis. "Εἰς δ' ἐν Μέμφει καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν, θεᾶς Ἑλληνίδος νομιζομένης· τινὲς δὲ Σελήνης ἱερὸν εἶναί φασιν. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Σεράπειον ἐν ἀμμώδει τόπῳ σφόδρα, ὥστ' ὑπ' ἀνέμων θύνας ἀμμῶν σωρεύεσθαι, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ σφίγες, αἱ μὲν καὶ μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐρωῶντο ὑπ' ἡμῶν κατακεχωσμένοι, αἱ δ' ἡμιφανεῖς· ἐξ ὧν εἰκάζειν παρῆν τὸν κίνδυνον, εἰ τῷ βαδίζοντι πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν λαίλαψ ἐπιπέσοι. Πόλις δ' ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐάνδρος, δευτέρα μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, μιγάδων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ μέρος καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ συννηκισμένων. Ed. Amstel. p. 1161.

Of the Serapeum at Canopus Strabo speaks more largely. Κάνωβος δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας περὶ ἰῶσιν, ἐπώνυμος Κανώβη τῇ Με- νελάε κυβερνήτῃ, ἀποθανόντος αὐτόθι, ἔχουσα τὸ τῇ Σαράπιδος ἱερὸν πολλῇ ἀγιστεῖα τιμώμενον, καὶ Θεραπείας ἐκφέρων, ὥς τε καὶ τὰς ἐλλογιμωτάτας ἀνδρας πισεύειν, καὶ ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἐτέρων. Συγγραφεῖσι δὲ τινες καὶ τὰς Θεραπείας, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀρετὰς τῶν ἐνταῦθα λογίων. Ibid. p. 1152.

peum. The extensive quadrangles, the spacious windows, the vast and magnificent style of the building, together with the gigantic statue of the deity, all appear to have filled his imagination with ideas of grandeur and immensity, which his whole relation seems labouring to express. “ Serapis apud Alexandriam Templum auditum quidem omnibus puto, plerisque vero etiam notum. Locus est non natura, sed manu et constructione per centum, aut eo amplius gradus, in sublimem suspensus^f, quadratis et ingentibus spatiis omni ex parte distentus: cuncta vero quo ad summum pavimentorum evadatur, opere forniceo constructa, quæ immensis desuper luminaribus, et occultis aditibus invicem in semet distinctis, usum diversis ministeriis et clandestinis officiis exhibebant. Jam vero in superioribus extrema totius ambitus occupant exhedræ et pastophoria, domusque in excelsum porrectæ in quibus vel æditui, vel hi quos appellabant ἀγνεύοντας, id est, qui se castificent, commanere soliti erant. Porticus quoque post hæc omnem ambitum quadratis ordinibus distinctæ, intrinsecus circumibant. In medio to-

^f ——— Τὸ γὰρ Σεράπιον ἐκεῖνο καταλαβόντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινές· νεὼς δὲ οὗτος κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διαφανέστατος, ἐπὶ γεωλόφῳ τινὸς ὑπερκείμενος. NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, edit. Par. tom. ii. p. 272.

——— καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ Σεράπιον· νεὼς δὲ οὗτος ἦν κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει ἐμφανέστατος, ἐπὶ γεωλόφῳ κείμενος. SOZOM. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. xv. edit. Reading, p. 297.

“tius spatii ædes erat, pretiosis edita columnis, et
 “marmoris faxo extrinsecus ample magnificeque con-
 “structa. In hac simulachrum Serapis ita erat vastum,
 “ut dextra unum parietem, alterum læva perfringeret :
 “quod monstrum ex omnibus generibus metallorum
 “lignorumque compositum ferebatur. Interioris delubri
 “parietes laminis primo aureis vestiti, super has argen-
 “teis, ad postremum æreis habebantur, quæ munimento
 “pretiosioribus metallis forent, &c.” Hist. Eccles. l. ii.
 cap. 23.

The description of Ruffinus, exaggerated as it may perhaps appear at first sight, derives considerable illustration and support from the authority of Ammianus Marcellinus; who concludes his description of Alexandria with these words. “His accedunt altis sublata fastigiis templa; inter quæ eminet Serapæum, quod licet
 “minuatur exilitate verborum, atriis tamen columna-
 “riis amplissimis, et spirantibus signorum figmentis,
 “et reliqua operum multitudine ita est exornatum, ut
 “post Capitolium, quo se venerabilis Roma in æter-
 “num attollit, nihil orbis terrarum ambitiosius cernat^g.”
 P. 265.

^g Dionysius Periegetes, speaking of the lake Serbonis in Egypt, adds concerning the Serapeum,

Τῆς πρὸς μὲν Ζεφύροιο Μακηδόνιον πτολίεθρον,
 Ἐνθα Σινωπίταο Διὸς μεγάλοιο μέλαθρον,

The Image, for the reception of which this illustrious Temple was raised, was introduced into Egypt from the

Χρυσῷ τιμήμεντι κεκασμένον· οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνῃς
Νηὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι θεώτερον ἄλλον ἴδοιο.

Geogr. Vet. Scriptores Gr. tom. iv. p. 44.

The anonymous Geographer, who lived under Constantius and Constantians, speaking of Alexandria, says (according to Gothofredus): Καὶ θεοὶ σέβονται ἐξόχως, καὶ ναὸς Σηράπιδος ἐκεῖ ἐσίν· ἐν μόνον θεῶμα καινὸν ἐν παντὶ κόσμῳ. Edit. GOTHOFREDI, p. 18.

And Eunapius, in his Life of Ædemon, expresses strongly the same idea : [Ἀντωνῖνος] προὔλεγεν, ὡς μετ' ἐκείνους—τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἅγια τῆ Σαράπιδος ἱερὰ πρὸς τὸ σκοτοειδὲς καὶ ἄμορφον χωρήσει καὶ μεταβληθήσεται· καὶ τι μυθῶδες καὶ αἰετὸς σκότος τυραννήσει ΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ. Ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἀπήλεγε πάντα. Edit. HIERON. COMMEL. p. 60.

Though we can not from all these accounts together form a perfectly clear idea of the Serapeum, yet as the Sebastium consecrated to the honour of Tiberius was built in the same city, whilst the other existed in all its splendor, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that a similar plan was probably adopted in both temples. I shall therefore quote the elegant description of Philo Judæus, which seems most unaccountably to have escaped the notice of Father Sicard, Bp. Pococke, and several other writers on the subject of Egyptian Antiquities.

The passage to which I allude occurs in the Embassy to Caius; where Philo, having contrasted the characters of Tiberius and Caligula, shews that mankind were not deficient in acknowledging their great obligations to the former of these Emperors, merely because they omitted to erect his statues in the oratories belonging to the Jews.

——— πᾶσα ἡ οἰκούμενη τὰς ἰσχυμπίδας αὐτῷ [Tiberio] τιμᾶς ἐψηφίσατο· καὶ μαρτυρεῖται καὶ ναοὶ, προπύλαια, προτεμενίσματα, σοαὶ, ὥς ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων, ἢ νέαι ἢ πάλαιαι, ἔργα φέρουσι μεγαλοπρεπῆ, τῷ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν Καισαρείων παρρημερεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τέμενος οἷον τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβαστίον, ἐπιβατηρίῃς Καίσαρος νεῶς, ἀντικρὺ τῶν εὐομοτάτων λιμένων μετέωρος ἵδρυται, μέγιστος καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος, καὶ οἷος οὐχ ἐτέρωθεν, κατάπλεως ἀναθημάτων, ἐν γρα-

coast of the Euxine Sea, by the first Ptolemy. Tacitus, who, as we have before remarked, has preserved a minute history of this event, relates that the removal of the statue to Alexandria was accompanied with miraculous circumstances; and that a Temple suitable to the dignity of the city was erected in [the Suburb] Rhacotis, where a chapel dedicated to Serapis and Isis had formerly stood^h. Now, though he does not say that the

φαῖς καὶ ἀνδριάσι, καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ περιβεβλημένος ἐν κύκλῳ, τέμενος εὐρύτατον, σοαῖς, βιβλιοθήκαις, ἀνδρῶσιν, ἄλσεσι, προφυλαίοις, ἐρυθρωρίαις, ὑπαίθεροις, ἅπασιν τοῖς εἰς πολυτελέστατον κόσμον ἡσκημένον, ἐλπίς καὶ ἀναγομένοις καὶ καταπλέεσι σωτήριος. Edit. MANGEY, vol. ii. p. 567.

Perhaps it may not be amiss to add one remark on this passage. When Philo asserts, that there was no other such temple as the Sebastium (οὐδὲν τοιούτον τέμενος οἷον τὸ Σεβασίον), his meaning is, as far as appears from the context, that there was no other such temple dedicated to any PRINCE; but he neither compares it with the Holy Temple at Jerusalems, nor with the celebrated Idol Temple at Alexandria.

^h “ LXXXIII. Origo dei nondum nostris auctoribus celebrata: Ægyptiorum antistites sic memorant. ‘ Ptolemæo regi, qui Macedonum primus Ægypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriæ recens conditæ mœnia, templaque, et religiones adderet, oblatum per quietem decore eximio, et majore quam humana specie juvenem, qui moneret,’ ut, fidissimis amicorum in Pontum missis, effigiem suam acciret: lætum id regno, magnamque et inclitam sedem fore, quæ excepisset: ‘ simul visum eundem juvenem in cœlum igne plurimo attolli.’ Ptolemæus, omine et miraculo excitus, sacerdotibus Ægyptiorum, quibus mos talia intelligere, nocturnos visus aperit. Atque illis Ponti et externorum parum gnaris, Timotheum, Atheniensem, e gente Eumolpidarum, quem, ut antistitem cærimoniarum, Eleusine exciverat, quænam illa superstitio, quod numen?’ interrogat. Timotheus, quæsit

building of this Temple commenced immediately upon the arrival of the Idol, yet he seems to assert, that here the Idol was first displayed to the admiring multitude : and it is not credible that the Monarch, who had introduced this object of worship, would neglect such imme-

“ qui in Pontum meassent, cognoscit urbem illic Sinopen, nec procul tem-
 “ plum, vetere inter accolæ fama, Jovis Ditis. Namque et muliebrem effi-
 “ giem adfistere, quam plerique Proserpinam vocent. Sed Ptolemæus, ut
 “ sunt ingenia regum, pronus ad formidinem, ubi securitas rediit, volupta-
 “ tum quam religionum appetens, negligere paulatim, aliasque ad curas
 “ animum vertere : donec eadem species terribilior jam, et instantior, ‘ exi-
 “ tium ipsi regnoque’ denuntiaret, ‘ ni jussu patrarentur.’ Tum legatos et
 “ dona Scydrothemidi regi (is tunc Sinopensibus imperitabat) expediri ju-
 “ bet ; præcipitque navigaturis, ‘ ut Pythium Apollinem adeant.’ Illis
 “ mare secundum : fors oraculi haud ambigua : ‘ Irent, simulacrumque pa-
 “ tris sui reveherent, fororis relinquerent.’

“ LXXXIV. Ut Sinopen venere, munera, preces, mandata regis sui Scy-
 “ drothemidi allegant. Qui diversus animi, modo numen pavescere, modo
 “ minis adversantis populi terreri ; sæpe donis promissisque legatorum flec-
 “ tebatur. Atque interim triennio exacto, Ptolemæus non studium, non
 “ preces omittere. Dignitatem legatorum, numerum navium, auri pondus
 “ augebat. Tum minax facies Scydrothemidi offertur, ‘ ne destinata deo
 “ ultra moraretur.’ Cunctantem varia perniciēs, morbique et manifesta
 “ cœlestium ira, graviorque in dies fatigabat. Advocata concione, ‘ jussu
 “ numinis, suos Ptolemæique visus, ingruentia mala’ exponit. Vulgus ad-
 “ versari regem, invidere Egypto, sibi metuere, templumque circumfidere.
 “ Major hinc fama tradidit, ‘ deum ipsum appulsas litori naves sponte con-
 “ scendisse.’ Mirum inde dictu, tertio die tantum maris emensi, Alexan-
 “ driam appelluntur. Templum pro magnitudine urbis exstructum, loco
 “ cui nomen Rhacotis : fuerat illic sacellum, Serapidi atque Ifidi antiqui-
 “ tus sacratum. Hæc de origine et adventu dei celeberrima.” Historiarum
 Lib. IV. tom. iii. p. 285. edit. Brot.

diate preparation, as was deemed fitting and perhaps necessary for its reception. We may therefore with much probability attribute the first design and commencement of the Serapeum to Ptolemy Soter.

And here I may be permitted to notice one circumstance highly interesting to every lover of sacred or of classical literature, which distinguished his reign: I mean his institution of a public library within the verge of his Palaceⁱ, which was situated near the Great, or as we now call it, the New Port. This library formed by Ptolemy Soter I venture to call the first Ptolemæan, or Palace-Library, in contradistinction to a second, founded afterwards by Ptolemy Philadelphus, called the daughter of the former^k, or the Serapean Library.

ⁱ One part of the Palace, says Strabo, was the Museum*: and the ancient author of the Life of Apollonius Rhodius expressly mentions the book-rooms, or library, belonging to it †. The keeper of these literary treasures in the time of Ptolemy Soter, as Suidas informs us, was Zenodotus the Ephesian ‡. Strabo asserts that Aristotle was the first person who instituted a library, and that the Ptolemies only copied his example §.

* Τῶν δὲ βασιλείων μέρος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἔχον περιπάτον καὶ ἐξέδραν, καὶ οἶκον μέγαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ συστήειν τῶν μετεχόντων τῷ Μουσείῳ φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν. STRABO, p. 1143.

† Βιβλιοθήκαι τῷ Μουσείῳ. Argonautic. edit. BRUNCK, p. xi.

‡ Ζηνόδοτος Ἐφέσιος, ἐποποιὸς καὶ γραμματικὸς, μαθητὴς τῷ Φιλητᾷ, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου γεγωνῶς τῷ πρώτῳ, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος τῶν Ὀμήρου διορθωτῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΩΝ πρῶτος, καὶ τοὺς ποιῆδας Πτολεμαίῳ ἐπαίδευσεν. SUIDÆ Lex. tom. ii. p. 7.

§ [Ἀριστοτέλης] πρῶτος, ὃν ἴσμεν, συναγαγὼν βιβλία, καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεῆς Βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν. STRABO, p. 906.

^k ——— πρώτη Βιβλιοθήκη τῇ ἐν τῇ Βρυχίῳ οἰκοδομηθείσῃ. Ἔτι δὲ ὕστερον ἑτέρα

But to return to our account of the SERAPEUM. Whatever might be the state in which this new edifice was left at the decease of Ptolemy Soter, there is good authority for asserting, that it was completed in the following reign. I shall not discuss the question in what period of the reign of Philadelphus his library was formed¹. Those, who desire to see the arguments on each side of this question, may consult the laborious investigations of Hody and Vossius. It is sufficient for my purpose to shew from ancient evidence, that a library, bearing the name of the *Serapean*, existed in his time at Alexandria. Now this, if I mistake not, was a constituent part of the Serapeum itself.

The prevailing testimony is, that some translation of the Hebrew Scriptures was made under the direction of this Monarch, and repositied in his library at Alexandria; and we have positive evidence, that the library, in which it was preserved, was in the Serapeum. I will subjoin the words of Tertullian and Chrysostom, which directly prove this point.

ἐγένετο Βιβλιοθήκη ἐν τῷ Σεραπίῳ μικροτέρα τῆς πρώτης, ἣτις καὶ θυγάτηρ ὠνομάσθη αὐτῆς. EPIPHAN. de Pond. et Mens. edit. Par. 1722. tom. ii. p. 168.

¹ Syncellus refers the institution of the Library to the cxxxii. Olympiad; and in this assertion he seems to have the general concurrence of Antiquity: Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος—ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Βιβλιοθήκην καθίστησιν εἰς τὸ Ὀλυμπιάδι. CHRONOGRAPHIA, edit. Goar. p. 273.

“Hodie apud Serapæum, Ptolemæi Bibliothecæ cum
“ipfis Hebraicis literis exhibentur^m.” TERTULL. Apol.
c. xviii. p. 182. Edit. Havercamp.

— Καὶ ἵνα μάθῃτε, ὅτι ἔχ' ἀγιάζει τὸν τόπον τὰ βιβλία,
ἀλλὰ βέβηλον ποιεῖ τῶν συνιόντων ἢ προαίρεσις· ἱστορίαν ὑμῶν
διηγήσομαι παλαιάν. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάделφος τὰς παν-
ταχόθεν βίβλους συναγαγὼν, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις
εἰσὶ γραφαὶ περὶ Θεῶν φιλοσοφεῖσαι καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης, με-
ταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἡρμήνευσεν αὐτὰς δι'
ἐκείνων· καὶ ΑΠΕΘΕΤΟ Εἰς τοῦ ΣΕΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ ἱΕΡΟΝ· καὶ
γὰρ ἦν Ἕλλην ὁ ἀνὴρ· καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐκεῖ τῶν περὶ Θεῶν αἱ
ἐρμηνευθεῖσαι βιβλοὶ μένουσι· τί ἔν, ἅγιος ἔσται τῷ Σεράπιδος ὁ
ναὸς ἂν τὰ βιβλία; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἔχει πῶς
οἰκειάν ἀγιότητα· τὰς δὲ τῶν δὲ ἑ μεταδίδωσι, ἂν τὴν τῶν συν-
ιόντων ἐκεῖ μιαν·.” CHRYSOST. Edit. Fronton. Ducaei,
tom. i. p. 443.

^m “Verborum istorum, *Hodie apud Serapæum Ptolemæi Bibliothecæ cum*
“*ipfis Hebraicis literis exhibentur*, hunc sensum esse puto : *in Bibliotheca Pto-*
“*lemæi, quæ apud Serapæum est, asservantur* * *Scripturæ Judaicæ ab Inter-*
“*pretibus lxxii. conversæ.*” HODIUS, de Bibl. Text. Orig. p. 225.

* “*Literæ pro Scriptis apud Ciceronem ad Att. Quod meis omnibus literis in Pompeiana laude*
“*esset perstrictus* ; id est, meis omnibus Scriptis. Et *Hebraica pro Judaicis*, ut *Hebrææ terræ*, pro
“*terrâ Judæorum apud Tacitum.*” Ibid.

ⁿ Whatever be the authority of Eutychius and Philastrius Brixienfis, it
goes directly to the same point. For, having both of them mentioned the

If then the buildings of the Serapeum were so far advanced in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus as to contain a library, which was but an ornamental part, such an adventitious ornament must surely have been posterior in date to the Temple, which was the original and chief object of the founder. It is however to be observed, that the library, designed by a Monarch so eminent for his love of magnificence°, and his eager-

making of the LXXII. Version at Alexandria, they add, that, when finished, it was reposit in the Serapean library.

جمع الكتب وختمها تحت خاتمة وصبرها في هيكلك صنع يقال له سراپيون.

“ Libros in unum collectos, et annulo suo signatos in Templo Idoli, “SERAPIS dicti, reposuit [Ptol. Philadelphus].” EUTYCHII Annales, tom. i. p. 296.

— — — “ Editionem—jussit conscribi [Ptolemæus] atque poni in TEM-
“ PLUM, ut venientibus de Achaia, de Græcia, atque aliis provinciis philo-
“ sophis, poëtis, et historiographis cupientibus, legendi copia non negare-
“ tur.” PHILASTRIUS BRIXIENSIS, Hæref. 90.

Epiphanius's testimony will be noticed hereafter.

° Philadelphus, according to Appian,—καὶ πορίσαι δεινότατος ἦν βασιλείων, καὶ δαπανῆσαι λαμπρότατος, καὶ κατασκευάσαι μεγαλεργότατος. APPIAN. edit. Amstel. Præf. vii.—And Philo Judæus speaks fully to the same purpose :

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς, [δευτέρως] μὲν ἦν ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς τὴν Αἴγυπτον παραλαβόντος· ἀρεταῖς δὲ ταῖς ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ πάντων, ἔχ' ἰ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάσαις πώποτε γεγενημένων ἀριστοῖς, ἔ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τοσάυταις ὕστερον γενεαῖς ἄδεται τὸ κλέος, πολλὰ δείγματα καὶ μνημεῖα τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἀπολιπόν-
τος, ὡς ἤδη καὶ ἐν παροιμίᾳ εἶδει τὰς ὑπερόγκης φιλοτιμίας καὶ μεγάλης κατασκευᾶς, ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΟΥΣ ἀπ' ἐκείνης καλεῖσθαι. Edit. Mangey, tom. ii. p. 138.

ness in collecting books^p, could not have been a small and inconsiderable portion of the whole structure: it probably comprehended one side or more of those magnificent courts, which excited the admiration of Ammianus Marcellinus. We must therefore allow it to be highly probable, that the edifice in its utmost extent, if not originally planned, was at least finished by Ptolemy Philadelphus.

After the death of Philadelphus, the kingdom of the Ptolemies declined, if not in strength and opulence, at least in the character and abilities of its monarchs. The genius of this Prince might indeed continue to operate after his decease; and some of his great designs might still be carried on by the force and direction, which they originally derived from him. And in truth some authors contend, that Euergetes and other succeeding princes supplied the treasures with which the library was stored: an assertion very probable, if restrained to the increase and additions, which from time to time it might receive at their hands. But history, which exhibits a disgusting recital of their luxury and profligacy, has recorded no

^p Athenæus speaking of Neleus, as the fortunate possessor of Aristotle's library, adds,——[Ἀριστοτέλη τε τὸν φιλόσοφον, καὶ τὸν τοῦτε διατηρήσαντα βιβλία Νηλέα.] παρ' ἧς πάντα φησὶ περιάμενος ὁ ἡμεδαπὸς βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος, Φιλάδελφος δ' ἐπίκλην, μετὰ τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥόδου, εἰς τὴν καλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετέγαγε. Edit. Dalechamp. p. 3.

eminent monument of art, or splendid achievement of valour or policy, by which their names were distinguished.

At length, after the Ptolemæan dynasty had continued about two hundred and fifty years, Egypt fell before that Power, which was now rapidly advancing towards universal dominion, and, upon the death of the tenth Ptolemy, Alexandria was subdued by the arms of Cæsar. Although the history of this conqueror contains nothing immediately relative to the Serapeum, yet as the glory of his achievements in Egypt is unfortunately fullied by the conflagration of the Alexandrian library¹,

¹ Of the destruction of this library we have the most particular accounts in Plutarch and Orosius, which I shall therefore produce for the satisfaction of the learned reader.

— — — Ἀχιλλᾶς φυγὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, περιίτησιν αὐτῷ [Cæsari] βαρὺν καὶ δυσμεταχειρίζον πόλεμον, ὀλιγοσὶν τοσαύτην ἀμυνομένῳ πόλιν καὶ δύναμιν. Ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκινδύνευσεν ὕδατος ἀποκλεισθεῖς· αἱ γὰρ διώρυχες ἀπωκοδομήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. Δεύτερον δὲ, περικοπτόμενος τὸν στόλον, ἠναγκάσθη διὰ πυρὸς ἀπώσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃ καὶ τὴν μεγάλην Βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐπινεμόμενον διέφθερε. PLUTARCHI Opera, edit. Reiske, tom. iv. p. 258.

——— “Achillas dux regius, imbutus semel Pompeii sanguine, Cæsaris quoque necem meditabatur. Nam jussus exercitum dimittere, cui præerat, viginti millium armatorum, non modo spreuit imperium, verum et aciem direxit. In ipso prælio regia classis forte subducta, jubetur (a Cæsare) incendi. Ea flamma cum partem quoque urbis invasisset, QUADRINGENTA MILLIA LIBRORUM, proximis forte ædibus condita, exussit.” OROSII, vi. 15.

The testimonies of Aulus Gellius and Ammianus Marcellinus, with re-

the Reader should be reminded, that the building then destroyed was situated in the Bruchium, and is the same which we have distinguished by the name of the first, or Palace-Library; an edifice remote from that erected by Ptolemy Philadelphus, which remained from this time the only royal library of Alexandria.

The dreadful loss sustained by literature in consequence of this conflagration would assuredly be exaggerated by supposing, that, of the four hundred thousand volumes thus consumed, no other copies existed elsewhere. But, on the contrary, it is reasonable to suppose, that in the Serapeum were placed, if not the most precious autographs, yet at least transcripts of the most valuable and popular works. Others equally celebrated would quickly be collected from various quarters; but the literary stores of the Egyptian capital were munificently replenished during the reign of Cleopatra. From the hands of her enamoured conqueror this Princess received the rival collection of Pergamus¹: and where can we suppose her to have placed such a gift, bestowed by

gard to the number of the books destroyed, will be produced in a subsequent part of this Volume.

¹ ————— Καλούσιος δὲ, Καίσαρος ἑταῖρος, ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν εἰς Κλεοπάτραν ἐγκλημάτων Ἀντωνίῳ πρᾶξεν· χαρίσασθαι μὲν αὐτῇ τὰς ἐκ Περγάμης Βιβλιοθήκας, ἐν αἷς εἴκοσι μυριάδες βιβλίων ἀπλῶν ἦσαν. PLUTARCHI Opera, tom. v. p. 202.

her beloved Antony, except in the only repository then existing which was dignified by the appellation of a Royal Library?

We are obliged by the express testimony of Strabo to acknowledge, that the lustre of the Serapeum was in his time somewhat obscured: but as he assigns the reason for this, namely a love of novelty then prevalent among the people^s, we may suppose that the neglect did not continue long. The same people, not many years after this period, to demonstrate their returning respect for their favourite deity Serapis, cruelly celebrated his anniversary by the martyrdom of an Evangelist. It was at this season of general festivity in Alexandria^t, that St. Mark expired in torments, under the hands of a bigotted and sanguinary populace.

^s — — — Ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τό, τε Σαράπιον καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα ἐκλελειμμένα πως διὰ τὴν τῶν ναῶν καίσασκευὴν τῶν ἐν Νικοπόλει· καὶ γὰρ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ σάδιον, καὶ οἱ πεντετηρικοὶ ἀγῶνες ἐκεῖ συντελεῖσθαι, ΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΩΛΙΓΩΡΗΤΑΙ. STRABO, p. 1145.

^t Achilles Tatius, in his Ἐρωτικά, after giving a beautiful description of Alexandria, represents Clitophon as having been present at one of these splendid festivals. Ἦν δὲ πως καὶ κατὰ δαίμονα ἱερομηνία τῷ μεγάλῃ Θεῷ, ὃν Δία μὲν Ἕλληνες, Σέραπιν δὲ καλεῖσιν Αἰγύπτιοι· ἦν δὲ καὶ πυρὸς δρῶδεχία· καὶ τῷτο μέγιστον ἑθεασάμην· ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος κατεδύετο, καὶ νύξ ἦν οὐδαμῶ· ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἀνέτελλεν ἥλιος κατακερματίζων. Τότε γὰρ εἶδον πύλιν ἐρίζουσιν περὶ κάλλεος οὐρανῶ. Edit. Salmasii, p. 277.

In a manner less cruel, at least, if not less reprehensible, did the worshippers of Serapis contrive to extend his reputation, at the period when the Emperor Vespasian visited the city. The circumstances of that extraordinary transaction have been already alluded to; and its celebrity will warrant the conclusion, that the Idol was now possessed of great credit and influence, and had fully re-established his ancient dominion.

Serapis is not noticed in History from this period till the reign of Commodus, when, according to Eusebius, his temple was in danger of being consumed by fire^u.

In the following century it witnessed the triumph of Christian fortitude over the insults of Pagan superstition. On the hundred steps, by which the votaries of Serapis were ascending to bow themselves before their Idol, did Origen boldly withstand the multitude who urged him to join in their rites, and even converted

^u “Anno 2^{do}. Commodi Imp. Templum Serapidis Alexandriæ incensum.” This testimony of the ecclesiastical Historian, which is preserved only in the Latin translation of Jerome, is falsely translated by Cave, “[In the second year of Commodus,] the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria was burnt down.” Lives of the Primitive Fathers, vol. i. p. 320. *Incensum Templum*, is an expression exactly similar to the *incensâ urbe* of Virgil, (*Æn.* ii. 327.) which means a *city on fire*, not a *city burnt*. And it is certain, from indisputable evidence, that the Serapeum existed after this time in very great splendor.

the instruments of their unhallowed pageant into memorials of that Saviour who overcame the world^x.

But the pure light of the Gospel was now dispersing the gloom of Paganism, and the tutelar deity of Alexandria was soon to be deprived of his usurped dominion. The first signal of his disgrace and downfall was the removal of the Nilometer from his temple, by the command of Constantine^y. His final ruin was accomplished by the Archbishop Theophilus, who zealously executed

^x ——— πολλὰ λέγεται πεπονθέναι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας λόγου τῆς πίστεως καὶ ὀνόματος τῆς Χριστοῦ, τῆτο μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλαῖς συρόμενος, ὀνειδιζόμενος, βασάνοις ἀνηκέστοις ὑποβαλλόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ καιρῷ ποτε ξυρῆσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τῆς Σεραπίδος καλεσμένοι τῆς αὐτῶν εἰδώλου καθίσαντες, τὸν αὐτὸν προσέταξαν θαλὸς φοινίκων ἐπιδιδόναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀθεμιτῶς καὶ προσκυνεῖν τῷ εἰδώλῳ ἀνίστι· τοῖτον γὰρ σχῆμα ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς. Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν μεγάλην τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ πεπαρρησιασμένην τῇ διανοίᾳ, εἰ δέισας, εἰ δὲ δισάσας, ἐβόα, λέγων· ΔΕΙΤΕ, ΛΑΒΕΤΕ ΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΘΑΛΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΥ, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΝ ΘΑΛΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ. EPIPHAN. tom. i. p. 524.

^y “ Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς [Constantinus] ἐπιμελέςτερος ὦν περὶ τὰ Χριστιανῶν, ἀπεστράφη τὰς ἑλληνικὰς θεησκείας· καὶ παύει μὲν τὰ μονομαχία· εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐναπέθετο. Λεγόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἄρα ὁ Σάραπιδος εἴη ὁ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀνάγων ἐπὶ ἀρδείᾳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τῷ τὸν πῆχυν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Σαράπιδος κομίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν πῆχυν Ἀλέξανδρον μετατιθέναι ἐκέλευσε. Τῶν δὲ φημιζόντων, ὡς ἐκ ἀναθήσεταί ὁ Νεῖλος ὀργῇ τῆς Σαράπιδος, ἥτε ἄνοδος τῆς ποταμοῦ τῷ τε ἐξῆς ἔτει καὶ εἰς τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετό τε καὶ γίνεται· ἔργῳ τε δέκνυνται, ὡς εἰ διὰ θεησκείαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ὕρας τῆς προνοίας, ἢ τῆς Νεῖλου ἀνάβασιν γίνεται.” SOCRATES, Hist. Ecclef. lib. i. c. xviii.

That Serapis was considered (by the Ægyptians) as the uncontroled deity of the Nile, is asserted by Aristides the Rhetorician :

Οὗτος [i. e. Serapis] ἄγει Νεῖλον ὥρα θέρους, οὗτος χειμῶνας ἀνακαλεῖ. ORAT. in Serapidem, edit. Flor. p. 100.

the decree of Theodosius against his image and temple. At this time his idol was broken in pieces, the golden walls which enshrined him, laid in ruins^z; and, in the subsequent reign of Arcadius, a Christian church was erected on the spot which had been occupied by the temple^a.

But though the temple, which formed a part of the Serapeum, was thus rased to the ground; the religious zeal of Theophilus did not prompt him to destroy the remainder of the edifice^b. Its spacious courts and stately columns still continued to be the admiration of the world. This we collect from the Arabic historians, whom we are soon to take for our guides.

^z Τῆ δὲ Σαραπίῃ μόνον τὸ ἔδαφος οὐχ ὑφείλοντο [Christiani], διὰ βάρους τῶν λίθων· ἔγὰρ ἦσαν εὐμετακίνητοι. EUNAP. Vita Ædefii, p. 64.

^a Τὸ μὲν δὴ Σεράπιον ὧδε ἦλω, καὶ μετ' ἔ πολὺ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετεσκευάσθη, Ἀρκαδίῃ τῇ βασιλείῳ ἐπώνυμον. SOZOMEN. lib. vii. c. 15.

^b That the exterior courts remained after the destruction of the temple by Theophilus, is evident from a quotation preserved in Evagrius. For the shocking circumstance, which Priscus relates to have happened in the Serapeum, was undoubtedly posterior to this event.——— Ἰσχυρεῖ Πρίσκος ὁ Ῥήτωρ, φθῆναι τηνικαῦτα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρῃ τῆς Θεβαίων ἐπαρχίας, ἰδεῖν τε τὸν δῆμον ὁμόσει κατὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων χωρεῖντα· τῆς τε στρατιωτικῆς δυνάμεως τὴν σάσιν διακωλύειν βελομένης, λίθων βολαῖς αὐτὰς χρήσασθαι· τρέψασθαι τε τούτους καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ ἀναδραμόντας ἐκπολιορκῆσαι, καὶ πυρὶ ζῶντας παραδῆναι. EVAGR. Hist. Ecclef. lib. ii. cap. v.

In the preceding account, formed from the scanty materials supplied by Greek and Roman writers, no attempt has been made to fix the SITE of the Serapeum. It is indeed a difficulty which some writers have acknowledged, and others avoided; and those who profess to decide the question, have been more prodigal of conjecture than of proof^c. My own sentiments on this subject I reserve for another Section. I will close this by requesting the reader's attention to the conduct of the two first Ptolemies; which it may be useful to recollect in the course of our future inquiries. For their zealous

^c Norden says, that he has endeavoured in vain to inform himself concerning the Site of the Serapeum. "Le Tombeau d'Alexandre, [dit-il] "qui, au rapport d'un auteur du quinzième siècle, subsistoit encore alors, "et étoit respecté des Sarazins, ne se voit plus : la tradition même du "peuple en est entièrement perdue. J'ai cherché sans succès ce Tombeau : je m'en suis informé inutilement. Une pareille découverte est "peut-être réservée à quelque autre voyageur. Il en est de même du "SERAPEUM. Ses ruines peuvent reposer sous quelque'une des buttes, "dont j'ai fait mention. Mais je n'ai rien apperçu de ce qui a pu appartenir à ce Temple superbe." Tom. i. p. 23.

Bp. Pococke, whose inquisitiveness and sagacity have been universally, and justly, applauded, does not even mention the Serapeum, when he endeavours to fix the situation of the most remarkable edifices in ancient Alexandria*. Father Sicard places it in the suburb Necropolis†; and D'Anville on the high eminence in the north-west part of the city‡. But neither of these French writers founds his hypothesis on any satisfactory evidence.

* Vol. i. p. 4, 5. † Lettres édifiantes, tom. v. p. 478. ‡ Mémoires sur l'Égypte, p. 58.

support of men of talents and learning these Princes have been deservedly celebrated in every succeeding age; but in doing this they had assuredly something more in view than merely to gratify their taste for literature, or to obtain a splendid name among the munificent patrons of art and science. There appears at least to be an evident and appropriate benefit, which they were well aware this measure would confer upon their new kingdom. The situation of their capital had been happily chosen for the centre of universal commerce. But to obtain the full advantage of this great design, the concurrence and assistance of the native Egyptians became necessary: and the introduction of foreign letters and arts would present itself as an obvious policy, to subdue their unsocial temper, and to prepare them for that mutual accommodation and general intercourse, which are required in a commercial people. The same object would likewise be promoted by a communion of religious worship: and in this point we may observe the address of the first Ptolemy in conciliating his new subjects, and flattering the ancient manners of the country. The admonition to establish Serapis in Egypt was pretended to have been communicated to the Monarch in a mysterious dream, which he submitted not to Grecian soothsayers, but to sages of their own nation; and, to ensure to the foreign deity a favourable reception among them, he was made to exchange his

Attic titles for an Egyptian name^d. The Temple likewise, which was destined for his abode, seemed to offer a fair occasion to this Prince for introducing the architecture of his country to notice and favour. What the distinguishing feature of this Building was, has already been shewn; and from its singular character it is probable, that the founder's design was to produce a new example of art, in which the genius of each country should be happily united, and the native boldness of the Egyptian manner combined with the graces and beauties of Grecian elegance.

^d ——— ἐπεὶ δὲ κομισθεὶς ὥφθη [ὁ Κολοσσός], συμβαλόντες οἱ περὶ Τιμόθεον τὸν ἐξηγητὴν καὶ Μανέθωνα τὸν Σεβεννίτην Πλάτωνος εἶναι ἄγαλμα, τῷ Κερβέρῳ τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῷ Δράκοντι, πείθεσι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς ἑτέρας Θεῶν ὕδενός, ἀλλὰ Σαράπιδός ἐστιν. ΟΥΤΑΡ ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΗΚΕΝ, ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κομισθεὶς τὸ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τῷ Πλάτωνος ἐκτίσατο, τὸν ΣΑΡΑΠΙΝ. PLUT. Περὶ Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδ. p. 68.

SECT. V.

ONE Digression, says the Arabian proverb, is the parent of another^e. In a work, of which amusement is the chief end, digressions may be admitted with little reserve. Neither are they to be altogether excluded from treatises on graver subjects and of a more regular form, if the opinions of the writer can by these means

^e —الحديث ذو شجون. —See page 353. of Professor Pocock's "Specimen Historiæ Arabum:" an invaluable work, of which a more correct edition is now printing at the Clarendon Press, and will be published with all convenient expedition. Learned foreigners always speak of this "Specimen" with the highest commendation. Reiske, in one place*, calls it LIBELLUS AUREUS; and in another †, that great Orientalist thus describes it—"Pertinet huc supra jam laudatus Pocockii Liber, Specimen Historiæ Arabum. Est LIBELLUS INCOMPARABILIS. Historiam Arabum Paganorum exponit ex Abulfeda.—In Theologia Muhammedana tradenda excellit; et est plenus literaturæ Arabicæ, bonæque frugis. Ex hoc Libro *Salus* concinnavit illa decantata Prolegomena ad Al-Corani suam Anglicam versionem."

It is a curious circumstance, that the new edition of the "Specimen" is printing from a copy prepared for the press by *Sale* himself, and accidentally purchased a few years since in the metropolis: and it may not, perhaps, be improper to inform the public, that, besides the advantage of *Sale*'s emendations, this edition will be enriched with an historical Index, and a fine Print of Pocock, from an original in the Bodleian library.

* Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas, p. 227.

† Ibid. p. 228.

be more effectually illustrated and confirmed ; if he can lead his reader through these deviations insensibly on towards the main object and end of his inquiry.

Such are the biographical digressions which are constantly interspersed by Abulpharajus throughout ONE of his Universal Histories. To his method of introducing these occasional episodes we owe the only account, we possess, of the fruitless attempt of Philoponus to preserve the ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY. The application of the Christian philosopher to Amru, the General of Omar, is thus recorded by the Arabian historian.

فصل:

* * * * *

عاش [يحيى المعروف بغرماسطيقوس] الي ان قتل
 عمرو بن العاص مدينة الاسكندرية ودخل علي عمرو وقد عرف
 موضعه من العلوم فآكرمه عمرو وسمع من الغاظه الفلسفية التي
 لم تكن للعرب بها انسة ما هاله ففتن به وكان عمرو عاقلا حسن
 الاستماع صحيح الفكر فلآزمه وكان لا يفارقه ثم قال له يحيى يوما
 انك قد احطت بحواصل الاسكندرية وختبت علي كل الاصناف
 الموجودة بها فما لك به انتفاع فلا اعارضك فيه وما لا انتفاع لك به
 فنحن اولي به فقال له عمرو ما الذي تحتاج اليه قال كتب
 الحكمة التي في خزائن الملوكية فقال له عمرو ما لا يمكنني
 ان امر فيها الا بعد استيذان امير المؤمنين عمر ابن الخطاب
 وكتب الي عمر وعرفه قول يحيى فورد عليه كتاب عمر يقول

فيه واما الكتب التي ذكرتها فان كان فيها ما يوافق كتاب الله ففي كتاب الله عنه غني وان كان فيها ما يخالف كتاب الله فلا حاجة اليه فتقدم باعدامها فشرع عمرو ابن العاص في تغريقها علي جهامات الاسكندرية واحرقها في مواقدھا فاستيقدت في مدة ستة اشهر فاسبع ما جري واعجب ١٢

“SECTIO” [vel DIGRESSIO].

* * * * *

“ Vixit [Johannes, quem vocamus nos Grammaticum,]
 “ donec caperet Amrus Ebno'l Afi Alexandriam, et ad
 “ Amrum accessit; qui, cognito quem in scientiis lo-
 “ cum teneret, honore ipsum affecit, audiitque de fer-
 “ monibus ejus philosophicis, quibus affueti non fuerant
 “ Arabes, quod eum ad stuporem redigeret, quoque per-
 “ celleretur; fuit autem Amrus intellectu præditus, ad
 “ res percipiendas promptus, conceptibus claris; adhæsit
 “ ergo illi, neque ab eo discessit. Deinde die quodam
 “ dixit illi Johannes, Circumivisti tu omnia Alexandriæ
 “ repositoria, omniaque rerum genera quæ in iis repe-
 “ riuntur obsignasti; quod ad illa igitur, quæ tibi profu-
 “ tura sint, nolo tibi contradicere, at quæ nulli tibi usui
 “ futura sunt, nobis potius convenient. Dixit illi Am-
 “ rus, Quid est quo opus tibi sit? Dixit illi; Libri philo-
 “ sophici, qui in gazophylaciis [Bibliothecis] regiis repe-
 “ riuntur. Hoc, inquit Amrus, est de quo statuere non

¹ Hist. Dynast. Arab. p. 180.

“ possum. Illud [petis] de quo ego quid in mandatis
 “ dare non possum, nisi post veniam ab Imperatore fide-
 “ lium Omaro Ebno'l Chattab impetratam. Scriptis ergo
 “ ad Omarum literis, notum ei fecit, quid dixisset Jo-
 “ hannes, perlatæque sunt ad ipsum ab Omaro literæ,
 “ in quibus scripsit—*Quod ad libros quorum mentio-*
 “ *nem fecisti: si in illis contineatur, quod cum libro*
 “ *Dei conveniat, in libro Dei [est] quod sufficiat absque*
 “ *illo; quod si in illis fuerit quod libro Dei repugnet,*
 “ *neutiquam est eo [nobis] opus, jube igitur e medio*
 “ *tolli.* Jussit ergo Amrus Ebno'l Afi dispergi eos per
 “ balnea Alexandriæ, atque illis calefaciendis comburi:
 “ ita spatio semestri consumpti sunt. Audi quid factum
 “ fuerit et mirare^s.”

“ The sentence of Omar,” says Mr. Gibbon, “ was
 “ executed with blind obedience: the volumes of paper
 “ or parchment were distributed TO THE FOUR THOU-
 “ SAND BATHS; AND SUCH WAS THEIR INCREDIBLE
 “ MULTITUDE, THAT SIX MONTHS WERE BARELY
 “ SUFFICIENT FOR THE CONSUMPTION OF THIS PRE-
 “ CIOUS FUEL. Since the Dynasties of Abulpharagius
 “ have been given to the world in a Latin version, the
 “ tale has been repeatedly transcribed; and every scho-
 “ lar, with pious indignation, has deplored the irrepara-

^s Hist. Dynast. Lat. p. 144.

“ ble shipwreck of the learning, the arts, and the genius,
 “ of antiquity. For my own part, I am strongly tempted
 “ to deny both the fact and its consequences. The fact
 “ is indeed marvellous ; ‘ Read and wonder !’ says the
 “ historian himself^b.” Edit. 4^{to}. vol. v. p. 343.

“ This anecdote,” subjoins Mr. Gibbon in a note on
 this passage, “ will be in vain sought in the annals of
 “ Eutychius, and the Saracenic history of Elmacin. The
 “ silence of Abulfeda, Murtadi, and a crowd of Moslems
 “ is less conclusive from their ignorance of Christian li-
 “ terature.”

But first, we may ask, is the story of Abulpharajus it-
 self correctly reported by Mr. Gibbon ? Surely it is an
 unfair inference, which he has made from the histo-
 rian’s words, that *all* the four thousand baths of the
 city were supplied with these books for fuel. Their
 distribution amongst any number of the baths would
 justify the expression of Abulpharajus, and the mean-
 ing which I would affix to it. He does not say, that
six months were barely sufficient for the consumption :

^b “ It would be endless to enumerate the moderns who have wondered
 “ and believed : but I may distinguish with honour the rational sciep-
 “ ticism of Renaudot (Hist. Alex. Patriar. p. 170.)” ‘ Historia
 ‘ habet aliquid ἀπίστον, ut Arabibus familiare est.’ GIBBON, vol. v.
 p. 343. N.

this is a false comment upon a mistaken text. The Arabic historian says nothing like it; he simply relates the fact, that in half a year the books were entirely consumed: but how many baths were employed in their destruction, he neither says nor insinuates. The incredible multitude of the volumes therefore vanishes at once. If during the whole time which elapsed, whilst these precious monuments of antiquity were gradually consuming, no sentiment of remorse or compunction arose in the breasts of the conquerors, no wish to rescue the still remaining treasures of this inestimable Library from further ravage and destruction, well might Abulpharajus exclaim, "Hear and wonder!" Hear and wonder at the brutal ignorance, and unrelenting fury of the barbarians!

Secondly, even if I should grant to Mr. Gibbon, that we have *only* the evidence of Abulpharajus for the general fact, I see no ground for *rational scepticism* with regard to its reality. I will concede even more; I will allow that Abulpharajus HIMSELF does not mention the circumstance in his *Syriac Universal History*, though he generally describes the period when it happened.

The nature of these two Universal Histories, the one written in Arabic, the other in Syriac, may be aptly illustrated by two modern publications.

A Work has lately been given to the public, which, whether we consider the judicious selection and skilful arrangement of facts; the proofs brought forward to attest them; the sagacity displayed in tracing their relations and dependencies; the severe logic with which all the inferences are deduced; or the manly eloquence with which they are urged; deserves the praise and the gratitude, not of Britons only, but of every friend to truth, to justice, and to mankind. This masterly performance is the History of the Politicks of Great Britain and France, written in German and English by my learned and excellent friend Mr. Herbert Marshⁱ. Of the English publication he thus observes: “The work
“now presented to the British public may, in one sense,
“be called a translation, as it was originally written in
“German: but as it proceeds from the author himself, it
“has an equal claim to the title of an original. In fact
“it contains not a literal translation, but only the same
“narrative drawn up in another language, and supported by the same documents. In various places
“new matter has been added, and several alterations
“have been made in the arrangement of the materials.

ⁱ It is with great pleasure that I can announce to the lovers of theological learning, that the laborious and able translator of Michaelis has completed the work, from the first part of which he has derived the most merited fame. The concluding volumes are now in the press, and will, I doubt not, amply satisfy the expectations of the Biblical scholar.

“ On the other hand, all allusions to German writers,
“ with some other passages, which would have been un-
“ interesting if not unintelligible to a British reader,
“ have been omitted ^k. ”

Now this will explain, in some degree, what I have to observe concerning the two Universal Histories of Abulpharajus, the one written in the Syriac language, the other in that of Arabia. They both contain in general the same narrative, but with occasional additions and omissions, as appeared to the author most interesting to the class of readers, for whom he was writing. Thus many particulars concerning the siege and capture of Acca, with the various messages which passed betwixt our lion-hearted RICHARD and his generous rival SALADIN, are given at large in the Syriac, but entirely passed over in the Arabic: on the contrary, the request of Philoponus, and the burning of the Alexandrian library, are given in the Arabic, but omitted in the Syriac. Instances of this kind are numerous; and every general scholar may judge for himself, as both the Histories in the original languages, together with the Latin translations, are before the public. I trust therefore that we shall hear no more of the objection urged by Mr. Gibbon, “ that the solitary report of a stranger, who wrote at the

^k Pref. p. xx.

“ end of fix hundred years on the confines of Media, is
 “ overbalanced by the silence of two annalists of a more
 “ early date, both Christians, both natives of Egypt, and
 “ the most ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius,
 “ has amply¹ described the conquest of Alexandria.”

¹ That the reader may judge for himself how AMPLE is the description which Eutychius has given of the conquest of Alexandria, I have ventured to transcribe Pocock's version of the whole passage.——“ Ingressi
 “ sunt Moslemini Alexandriam, postquam in ipsius obsidione menses quatuordecim infumissent. Capta jam urbe atque fuga dilapsis qui e Romanis fugerant, profectus est Amrus Ebno'l Afi eos qui per terram fugerant quæsitum. Illi autem ex ipsis qui per mare fugerant Alexandriam reversi, Mosleminos qui in ea reperti sunt occiderunt. Cumque eo audito reversus esset Amrus, acri ipsum pugna juxta arcem exeperunt; qua ab ipso capta rursus ad naves confugerunt Romani. Scripsit ergo Amrus Ebno'l Afi ad Omarum Ebno'l Chetabi—*Urbem cepi in qua quid sit non describam, nisi quod in ipsa repperim palatia quater mille; balnea quater mille; Judæorum qui tributum solvunt quadraginta millia, circos Regios quadringentos, olitores qui olera vendunt duodecies mille. Ipsam vero vi cepi, nullo inito pacto.* Certiorem etiam ipsum fecit, postulare Mosleminos ipsam sibi dividendam. Cui rescribens Omar Ebno'l Chetabi, consilium ipsius improbavit, jussitque ne ipsam illis [spondendam] permetteret aut divideret, verum vectigal ipsius in ipsa Mosleminis relinqueret, quo subsidio ipsis in oppugnandis hostibus esset. Eam ergo quo erat statu confirmavit Amrus, numeratisque incolis tributum ipsis imposuit. Porro Ægyptus universa in fœdus recepta fuit, tributum binorum aureorum a singulis pendendo; neque cuiquam amplius pro capite suo solvendum imponebatur (nisi ubi adjiceretur aliquid, eique imponeretur ratione terrarum et frugum quas haberet) exceptis Alexandriæ incolis: illi enim vectigal ac tributum ad arbitrium ejus qui ipsis præsticiebatur pendebant. Capta est siquidem Alexandria vi, sine promisso, aut pactis conventis, nullo cum ipsis inito fœdere aut sponsione. Capta

If Abulpharajus himself, in his Syriac Universal History, has both given the life of Omar and noticed the capture of Alexandria, and yet omitted mentioning the burning of the Library, and even the very name of Philoponus, why might not the two annalists do the same?

The high literary as well as ecclesiastical rank of this illustrious Primate of the East, and the numerous concurrent testimonies as well of Mahometans as Christians to the gravity and sanctity of his character, would in my opinion, even if he were found to stand single in his testimony, more than overbalance the frivolous cavils of Mr. Gibbon.

But further, to the negative argument of Mr. Gibbon I shall venture to oppose the positive testimony of two Arabic historians, both writers of unquestionable authority, and both orthodox professors of the Mussulman faith—MACRISI and ABDOLLATIF; who not only agree in stating the fact—the *burning* of the Library, but also point out to us the exact spot on which the Library stood. For after describing the Column, commonly called Pompey's Pillar, and mentioning the adjacent

“est autem die Veneris mensis Moharram novilunio, anno Hejræ vicefimo,
“nec non Imperii Heraclii vicefimo, qui Chalifatûs Omari Ebno'l Chetabi
“oâtavus fuit.” EUTYCHII Annal. tom. ii. p. 316.

ruins of some ancient Edifice, they add, that “ THERE
 “ WAS THE LIBRARY WHICH AMRU EBN EL AAS
 “ BURNT BY THE COMMAND OF THE KHALIF OMAR^m.”
 I conclude therefore, that both the *burning*, or more
 strictly speaking, the *despoiling*ⁿ, of the Library by
 Amru, and its *actual situation*, are indisputably ascer-
 tained.

A satisfactory answer having now, I hope, been given
 to the sceptical insinuation of Mr. Gibbon, I advance a
 step farther. As the library despoiled by Amru was a
 ROYAL^o library, and as the *first* Ptolemæan library was
 unfortunately burnt by Julius Cæsar, this must neces-
 sarily have been the *second* Ptolemæan library; and
 consequently part of the *Temple of Serapis*. We have
 at length then, by the assistance of Arabic writers, un-
 expectedly discovered the SITE OF THE SERAPEUM; a
 discovery eagerly sought for by the curious for more

^m See Mss. of Macrifi in the Bodleian Library, *Pocock*, N°. 394. p. 137.
Marsh, N°. 149. p. 183. and the printed editions of Abdollatif, p. 62, 63.
 8^{vo}. or pag. 110. 112. 4^{to}.

ⁿ Abulpharajus affirms, that the books were ordered to be distributed
 amongst the baths, and used as fuel for heating them. It being then
 explicitly stated, that they were not burnt IN THE LIBRARY, we may
 fairly infer, that the edifice itself, that is, its walls, rooms, and colon-
 nades, remained, after the books were committed to the flames.

^o خزائن الملوك — Bibliothecis REGIIS.—See p. 57.

than a century : and hence arises one strong proof, that a knowledge of Arabic may be made peculiarly subservient to the illustration of Egyptian antiquities.

But are there no passages, it may be asked, in Greek or Latin authors, which corroborate the evidence of Arabic writers respecting the Site of the Serapeum ? I answer, that certainly there are ; though their meaning has hitherto been wholly overlooked, and perhaps would for ever have been lost in obscurity, had not a ray of light broken in from the East. Such, however, is the accumulated force of these passages, when properly considered, as to leave no room to doubt that the Temple of Serapis was contiguous to what is commonly called the Pillar of Pompey.

SECT. VI.

I NOW return from those subordinate objects of discussion, which however a full investigation of the subject evidently demanded, to my primary Inquiry concerning the celebrated Column of Alexandria. When, and by whom, it was erected—to whose honour it was dedicated—and what name it should bear, are points still unascertained. Yet though no certain proof can be produced, many particular facts may be collected, which will lead to a very probable conclusion.

The magnitude of this Column is such, that if it had originally stood unconnected with other buildings, it would never surely have escaped the notice of ancient historians: whereas if it constituted any part of a structure, like the Serapeum, it might well be included in the general mention of an edifice so magnificent and stupendous^p. We have already shewn,

^p An answer is hence supplied to those authors, who suppose that this extraordinary monument did not exist when Strabo visited Alexandria *, because we find no mention made of it in his work.

The plain fact seems to be, that if it did not suit Strabo's plan to de-

* Bp. Pococke, vol. i. p. 8. Shaw, p. 339. Michaelis, edit. Abulfed. Not. p. 94. Wortley Montagu, *supra*, p. 8. &c. &c.

that it must have stood, at least, in the vicinity of that Temple; and we are supported by the opinion

scribe the general magnificence of the Serapeum, he *could not* speak of a *single Column* belonging to it, however elegant its form, or large its dimensions. No argument is therefore to be deduced from *Strabo's silence* against the existence of Pompey's Pillar in the first century. We know from Pliny, that there was an Egyptian Obelisk of the same size as that famous one called "Cleopatra's Needle," standing before Cæsar's Temple, when Strabo visited Alexandria*; but of this also he makes no mention whatever; he only *marks the place* where the Temple itself stood. . . . ὑπέρκειται δὲ τὸ τῷ Θεάτρῳ· εἴτα τὸ Ποσειδίου·—εἴτα τὸ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΟΝ, καὶ τὸ Ἐμπορεῖον, καὶ Ἀποσάσεις †. . . .

In the same manner, when he meant merely to *designate the Site* of the Serapeum, he says only—Ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τό, τε ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα †. . . . Had Strabo interrupted the thread of his chorographical narrative by saying, that there was a very large and lofty Pillar standing either in the area or the front of the Serapeum, without any further description of that most magnificent Temple, it would have been very unlike that prudence and solid judgment with which he usually writes. Besides, we know, that, when he has occasion to speak of great and magnificent objects, he seldom enters into a particular description of their minuter appendages. Thus, he does not even mention the Sphinx, when he describes the three

* "Et alii duo sunt [*fuerunt*] Obelisci Alexandriae in portu ad Cæsaris Templum, quos excidit Mestres rex quadragenum binum cubitorum. Super omnia accessit difficultas mari Romanam devehendi, spectatis admodum navibus. Divus Augustus priorem advexerat, miraculique gratia Puteolis navalibus perpetuis dicaverat: sed incendio consumpta est. Divus Claudius aliquot per annos asservatam, qua Caius Cæsar importaverat, omnibus quæ unquam in mari visæ sunt, mirabiliorem, turribus Puteolano ex pulvere exædificatis, perductam Ostiam, portus gratia meritis:" &c. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. iv.

Now, as it is agreed amongst the learned, that Strabo wrote his Geography during the first years of the reign of Tiberius, it follows, that the Obelisk, which Caligula afterwards transported to Rome, was standing before Julius Cæsar's Temple, when Strabo travelled into Egypt.

† STRABO, edit. Amstel. p. 1144.

‡ Ibid. p. 1145.

of one of the most judicious modern travellers, when we suppose, that with some building or other it was originally connected¹. Moreover its Shaft is of the same kind of stone with those large pillars, the remains

great Pyramids of Giza. Now, the Sphynx was certainly an object not less prominent and striking in the front of the Pyramids, than our Column was, when considered in its connection with the Serapeum. Moreover, Strabo mentions the lake of Mœris, and says, “it was admirable, being “like a sea for greatness and colour;” yet he adds not a syllable respecting the two great Pyramids that were in the midst of it*, and which are both particularly described by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus †.

* Θαυμασὴν δὲ καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔχει [Αἴγυπτος] τὴν Μοίριδος καλεμένην, πελαγίαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ χροῇ θαλασσιόειδῃ· καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁρᾶν ὁμοίους τοῖς θαλαττίοις. STRABO, p. 1163.

† Τῇ δὲ λαβυρίνθῳ τούτῳ ἐόντι τοιότῳ, θώῤῥμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἢ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ’ ἣν ὁ λαβυρίνθος ἔτος οἰκοδόμηται. Τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰς ἑξάδιον ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐξήκοντα ἑόντων, ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. Κέεται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορρῇν τε καὶ νότον, ἑῷσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, πεντηκοντόργυιος. Ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητός ἐστι καὶ ὀρυκτὴ, αὐτὴ δηλοῖ. Ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα καὶ ἐσᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τῷ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυιάς ἑκατέρῃ· καὶ τὸ κατ’ ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσούτον καὶ ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρῃσι ἔπεσι κολοσσὸς λίθινος, κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. Οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰς ἑκατὸν ὀργυιῶν, αἱ δ’ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιάς δίκαιαί εἰσι ἑξάδιον ἑξάπλευρον. HERODOT. edit. Weffeling. p. 177. — καλουμένη μέχρι τῆ νῦν Μοίριδος λίμνη. Ὁ δ’ ἐν βασιλεὺς ὀρύτλων ταύτην, κατέλιπεν ἐν μέσῃ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τάφον ὠκοδόμησε καὶ δύο πυραμίδας, τὴν μὲν αὐτῇ, τὴν δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς, σαδιαίας τὸ ὕψος· ἐφ’ ᾧν ἐπέστησεν εἰκόνας λιθίνας, κατημένους ἐπὶ θρόνου. DIOD. SICUL. edit. Weffeling. tom. i. p. 62.

¹ “ Les quatre coins de l’Obélisque de Cléopâtre répondent à peu près “ aux quatre coins du monde. Mais les coins du Piédestal de la Colonne “ de Pompée semblent décliner environ de 12 degrés. Il est donc proba- “ ble, qu’en érigeant cette Colonne, on ne s’est réglé que sur la situation “ des EDIFICES D’ALENTOUR, et non pas sur un Méridien, comme on a “ fait en érigeant les Pyramides.” NIEBUHR, tom. i. p. 39.

of which Pococke saw lying scattered near it^r: and the express testimony of Arabic writers in a matter where they are certainly competent witnesses, is, that it stood at the northern angle of a great Building of uncertain antiquity, and that four hundred of these pillars were standing around it, with which it was so connected, that from them it received its popular appellation of *Amûd Iffawâri*, or, “The Column of the Pillars.” They add, that HERE was the Library which Amru destroyed by the command of the Khalif Omar. That Library, as I hope it has been already proved, was a part of the ancient Serapeum; and therefore we conclude, upon the positive testimony of history, that the Column stood within its precincts.

But if we should suppose for a moment that the Column was unconnected with the Serapeum, and that it was placed in its present situation after the conquest of Egypt by the Romans, our hypothesis will be incumbered with great and manifest improbabilities. For the

“Near it [Pompey’s Pillar] are some fragments of GRANITE PILLARS, “four feet diameter; and it appears plainly from many old foundations, “that there has been some magnificent Building there, in the area of “which, ’tis probable, this Pillar was erected; and some Arabian historians (on what authority I know not) call it the Palace of Julius Cæsar. This famous Pillar is of RED GRANITE.” Bp. POCOCKE, vol. i. p. 8.

work was evidently far beyond the reach of private exertions, and the Emperors were little inclined to enrich a provincial city with so unparalleled an ornament. On the contrary, they are well known, from the time when they first obtained a quiet possession of the country, to have frequently despoiled it of its treasures of this very kind. Thus Egypt frequently witnessed the exportation of her stately Obelisks. This plunder, of which Augustus first set the example, was continued by his successors to the age of Constantine : nor is there one among them, whose history or character affords the slightest pretensions for assigning to him the origin of this Column.

We are told by those who have lately taken its dimensions, and who in modern ages have had the best opportunity and means of examination, that its principal member, the Shaft, appears to be of Grecian architecture^s. If then we exclude the Roman Emperors, surely this internal evidence will justify our conclusion, that the *Æra* of the Column is to be found in some point of the Ptolemæan dynasty ; for till after the conquest of Alexander the arts of Greece were not intro-

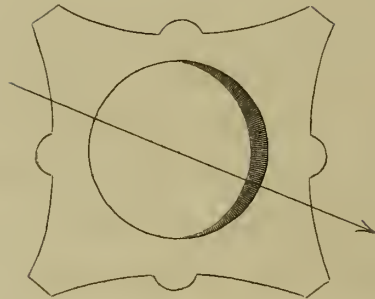
^s “ Le Fût, qui est d'un galbe admirable et d'un fort beau poli, excepté “ du côté du désert, qui a souffert par les fables, paroît être fait de la main “ des Grecs.”—*Rapport sur la Colonne de Pompée, par le Citoyen Norry, Mémoires sur l'Égypte, p. 63.*

duced into Egypt. If we consider the second Monarch of this race, his history, his disposition, his ability; the connection of the Column with a building confessedly founded by him, and the sameness of the character and materials; if we take each of these circumstances distinctly, and weigh their accumulated force, there will be little occasion to hesitate at restoring the honour of this magnificent Monument to Ptolemy Philadelphus; an honour indeed, which cannot justly be contested with him by any character in Greek or Roman history, either in remote or later ages.

There yet remains to be mentioned one circumstance in the life of this Prince, which will give additional weight to the preceding conclusion. We are informed by Pliny, that he raised an Obelisk of eighty cubits, as a pledge of his affectionate regard for the memory of Arsinoë^t. As he exhibited in his capital this specimen of Egyptian architecture, he might wish also to display to his Egyptian subjects the architecture of his own country in its utmost magnificence, and to superadd the decorations of a more graceful proportion and a more appropriate ornament. The Obelisk

^t “Alexandriæ statuit [Obeliscum] unum octoginta cubitorum Ptolemæus “Philadelphus.——Hic fuit in Arsinoëo positus, munus amoris in conjugem, eandemque sororem Arsinoën.” PLIN. Nat. Hist. tom. ii. p. 735, 736. edit. Harduin.

Plan of the Capital



Side of the Desert

"Ce Monument (la Colonne de Pompée) présente un
 "ordre Corinthien, et est divisé en quatre parties, piédestal,
 "base, fût, et Chapiteau; un Cercle de 2m. 2 Centim. (6 pieds
 "3 pouces) de diamètre, et déprimé de 6 centimètres (2 pouces),
 "seroit croire qu'il y a eu autrefois un socle dessus, portant peut-
 "être la figure du Héros à qui on avoit élevé cette Colonne" —

Rapport sur la Colonne de Pompée par le Citoyen Norry, p. 63.

was a naked memorial ; but the Column was certainly furmounted by the Statue of him to whose honour it was erected.

But here we confess, that we are unable to advance farther than to point out Him, who was the likeliest and worthiest to stand on this unrivalled Column. The gigantic Image of Serapis was placed within the Temple. The Obelisk reared by Philadelphus was a memorial of connubial love. But this Monarch was also celebrated for piety towards his Parents, whose Statues he was especially careful to multiply and adorn^u. Whom then can we suppose to have occupied this distinguished place before the Temple of Serapis, and in the view of the whole city, but HIM who was the first Monarch of his family, and under whose auspices the tutelar deity was introduced into Egypt ?

In the course of this Inquiry I have often felt the want of that evidence, which might still be obtained, were the Site of this renowned Temple diligently investigated by able men. In the mission of the National Institute I entertained a hope, that at least some better

^u Μητρὶ φίλῃ καὶ πατρὶ Θυώδεας εἶσατο νηώς·

Ἐν δ' αὐτὰς χρυσῷ περικαλλέας ἢ δ' ἐλέφαντι

Ἰδρυσεν, πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀρωγός.

THEOCRITUS, Idyll. xvii. ver. 123, &c.

knowledge of Alexandrian antiquities would result from the invasion of Egypt. But this hope was not more fondly conceived than cruelly disappointed. For, except a description of the PILLAR, with a detail of its dimensions, nothing has been performed, or even attempted. It had been doubted whether the Eminence, on which it stands, be natural or artificial ground: and the judicious Pococke, who noticed certain Ruins near it, hinted that they were the remains of some grand Edifice. But these hints have been left unimproved, and these doubts still remain unsatisfied. Professors of art, and teachers of science, have left museums crowded with the spoils of Florence and Rome—have received the *fiat* of the Great Nation to instruct as well as to subdue the world—they have visited this spot, with power to examine it without molestation, and certainly with no modest reluctance to claim the merit of discovery. Yet what new information, useful or curious, have they contributed on this subject? Certainly none. But whilst the antiquarian may regret the opportunity that has thus strangely been lost; whatever the wisdom of Divine Providence may have determined shall be its final issue, every friend of humanity cannot but lament the accumulated misery, which has hitherto resulted from so treacherous an enterprize against this devoted country—an enterprize, which though it has eventually called forth the most brilliant and unparalleled exertions of British skill, and valour, and mag-

nanimity; yet has not tempered the horrors of war, and rapine, and massacre, by the production of one single advantage, either to the cause of Literature, to the ferocious Invader himself, or to the wretched and unoffending Victims of his faithlessness and fury.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

Nº. I.

AMUD ISSAWARI.

THE following is the passage of Abulfeda, referred to at page 26. with Michaelis's translation, and the *whole* of his Note.—والاسكندرية هي علي شط بحر الروم وبها المنارة المشهورة وبها عامود السواري وطوله نحو ثلث واربعين ذراعاً—
“ *Alexandria est ad litus maris mediterranei, habetque*
“ *Pharum celebrem, et Columnam Severi, cujus altitudo*
“ *est quadraginta circiter et trium cubitorum, &c.*” Marginalia, p. 17.

NOTE.

“ Columnam Severi] Est Columna sic dicta Pompeii,
“ quam delineatam videbis in Pocockiani itinerarii ta-
“ bula iv, Nordenianique xi, xii, descriptam a plerisque,
“ qui Alexandriam adierunt. Pompeii, cujus ei nomen,
“ nescio quo casu, tribuitur, eam esse non posse, monue-
“ runt aliqui, nullam enim ejus mentionem facere Strabo-
“ nem, aliosque, qui Cæsaris et Augusti tempore fatis ad-

“ curate de Alexandria exposuerint. Conjecerunt ergo
“ alii, Tito Vespasiano positam esse, aut Hadriano; sed
“ sunt, ut dixi, conjecturæ. Eo majoris faciendus Abul-
“ feda, ex quo discimus, seculo adhuc xiii nomen *Severi*
“ Columnæ hæsisse. Nec veri diffimile, Severo, qui et
“ Alexandriam adiit, et maxima in urbem contulit be-
“ neficia, senatum quoque, quo antea caruerat, ei dedit,
“ Statuam a grata urbe erectam. Spartianus in vita Se-
“ veri, c. xvii. ‘*Alexandriam petiit * * * Alexandrinis jus*
“ *buleutarum dedit, qui sine concilio, ita ut sub regibus,*
“ *antea vivebant, uno contenti iudice, quem Cæsar de-*
“ *disset. Multa præterea his jura mutavit. Jucundam*
“ *sibi peregrinationem propter religionem Dei Serapidis, et*
“ *propter novitatem animalium et locorum fuisse, Severus*
“ *ipse postea ostendit. Nam et Memphim, et Memnonem,*
“ *et Pyramides, et Labyrinthum diligenter inspexit.*’——
“ Græcorum cum esset Alexandria, ac diu quoque post,
“ sub Arabum imperiis, Græcis in ea multis habitanti-
“ bus, inscriptionibusque Columnæ adhuc integris, certo
“ sciri, et ad posteritatem non dubia traditione, ipsoque
“ etiam nomine, propalari potuit, cujus esset. Severi
“ certe nomen Arabs non confinxerit, forte quis fuerit
“ Severus ignorans. Videmur ergo jam tandem ali-
“ quando de nobilissimo antiquitatis monumento aliquid
“ certi statuere posse: idque adeo novum recentioribus
“ et ignotum, ut Reiskius, vir incredibili doctrina, ne
“ intelligeret quidem Abulfedam, literasque Arabicas

“سوارى legens, non de Severo cogitaret, fed versioni
 “ fuæ hanc fubjiceret notam : *Columna trabium. Nescio*
 “ *cur ita dicta. Pompeii forte intelligitur.* Nempe ad
 “ radicem سور (Gol. p. 1236.) nomen Severi Arabicis li-
 “ teris expreffum revocabat.” Ad Tab. Num. 50. p. 94.

The words in the Arabic text of Abulfeda, which Michaelis translates *Columnam Severi*, are عَمُود السَّوَارِى *Amûd Iſſawâri*. Now, *Amûd Iſſawâri* is the fame as *Amûd il Sawâri*, the *L* of the article *Il* being by a well known rule of Grammar changed into *S*, and coaleſcing with the word *Sawâri*^a. *Al* is the nominative of the Arabic article, and answers to *ὁ* or *οἱ* in the Greek; *Il* is the genitive, and the fame as *τῆς*, or *τῶν*. *Amûd* then, as is allowed by every one, ſignifies a COLUMN; *Is* ſtands for *Il*, the genitive caſe of the article *Al*; and *Sawâri* is the word whoſe meaning is fought for.

Now, *Sawâri* cannot be the Arabic word for *Severus*, becauſe no Arabic writer ever expreſſes the Latin name *Severus* in this manner: and it is particularly in point to obſerve, that Abulfeda himſelf, in his great hiſtorical Work, writes it سِوَارِس *Sewâros*. My proof is taken from a Ms. of that work preſerved in the Bodleian library, Poc. 303. p. 94. l. 13. The title of the

^a Vid. ERPENII GRAMM. edit. Golii, p. 22.

Chapter is, ذكر ملوك الروم “ An Account of the Kings
 “ of Rome.” من القنون ملك ثمانى عشرة سنة
 وفي ايامى بحثت الاساقفة عن عمر الفصح واصلحوا راس الصوم
 وهلك سيوارس المذكور في منتصف سنة ثلث عشر وخمسمائة
 “ *Sewáros*, according to the *Kanún*, reigned eighteen
 “ years: and in his days the Bishops disputed con-
 “ cerning Easter, and settled the commencement of
 “ Lent. And the above-mentioned *Sewáros* died about
 “ the middle of the five hundred and thirteenth year
 “ [of the epocha of Alexander].”

If it should be said, that different modes of spelling the
 word *Severus* prevail in different Arabic authors; as, for
 instance, that Eutychius spells it سويرس *Sawéros*^b, Abul-
 pharajus سوارس *Sawáros*^c, and in another place سوريانس
Sawerianus^d; I reply, that the final س, or S, is con-
 stantly employed by Arabic writers in expressing those
 Latin names which terminate in *Us*. This rule, I ap-
 prehend, holds good *almost* without exception. Thus
 Augustus is اغسطوس^e, Tiberius طيباريوس^f, Pilatus فيلاطوس^g,
 Caius غاييوس^h, Claudius قلوذيوسⁱ, Vespasianus اسفسيانوس^k,
 Titus طيطوس^l, Domitianus زوميطيانوس^m, Trajanus

^b Annal. p. 373.^c Hist. Dynast. p. 148.^d Ibid. p. 125.^e Hist. Dynast. p. 109.^f Ibid. p. 111.^g Ibid. p. 112.^h Ibid. p. 115.ⁱ Ibid. p. 115.^k Ibid. p. 117.^l Ibid. p. 118.^m Ibid. p. 118.

طریانوسⁿ, Adrianus ادریانوس^o, Antoninus انطونیانوس^p,
 Marcus Aurelius مرقوس اورلیوس^q, Commodus قومذوس^r.

As I have now shewn, I hope satisfactorily, that *Sawári* is not the Arabic word for *Severus*, and that Latin Proper Names, terminating in *Us*, retain the *S* final, when expressed in Arabic; I proceed further to remark, that the article *Il*, prefixed to *Sawári*, in the passage of Abulfeda under consideration, proves indisputably that it is merely an Appellative; because the article *Al*, or *Il*, is never prefixed to any *Proper Name whatever*.

Every one knows that the Koran is the standard of Arabic: I shall therefore quote from it a small but sufficient number of passages, to confirm what I have mentioned as the universal rule of the language.

Michaelis supposes *Sawári* to be a Proper Name; to be the second of two Substantives; to be in the Genitive Case; and to have the article *Il* prefixed to it. The following examples (and a thousand others might easily be added) prove, that the article *Il*, agreeably to the idiom of the language, is never used in any such case:

ⁿ Hist. Dynast. p. 119.

^o Ibid. p. 121.

^p Ibid. p. 121.

^q Ibid. p. 124.

^r Ibid. p. 125.

and therefore that *Sawári* here cannot possibly be a Proper Name. Sur. ii. ver. 87. edit. Maraccii, ابن مريم *filii Mariæ*. Ibid. ver. 131. ملة ابراهيم *religio Abrahami*. Sur. iii. ver. 58. مثل عيسى *similitudo Jesu*. Sur. vii. ver. 123. رب موسى وهرون *dominus Mosis et Aaronis*. Ibid. ver. 173. بني آدم *filii Adami*. Sur. ix. ver. 72. عزة فرعون *potentia Pharaonis*. Sur. xxviii. ver. 3. نبي موسى *historia Mosis*. Ibid. ver. 7. ام موسى *Mater Mosis*. Sur. xxxiii. ver. 13. اهل يثرب *familia Yathrebi*. Sur. xli. ver. 13. معاقبة عاد *supplicium Adi*. Sur. l. ver. 11. جنود فرعون *populus Tobbaï*. Sur. lxxxv. صحف ابراهيم *exercitus Pharaonis*. Ibid. ver. 18. *codices Abrahami*.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples on this subject from other Arabic writers; but it may perhaps be satisfactory to refer the reader to the following instances, which, amidst many others of a similar nature, occur in the very work of Abulfeda which Michaelis translated. Pag 2. بني اسرائيل *filii Israelis*. P. 3. ولاية قوص *præfectura Kusi*. P. 9. قبر جالينوس *sepulchrum Galeni*. P. 15. بحر يوسف *Canalis Josephi*. Ibid. ايام فرعون *dies Pharaonis*. P. 18. باب رشيد *ditio Behensæ*. P. 22. خلافة عمر *Chalifatus Omari*. P. 32. جامع عمرو *templum Amrui*. P. 34. مدينة فرعون *urbs Pharaonis*. &c. &c.

A complete answer has now, I think, been given to Michaelis, and those who have adopted his opinion, by proving that *Amûd Iſſawâri* is not, and cannot be, *the Column of Severus*. I proceed therefore to inquire more particularly, what is the true meaning of the word.

I have already shewn that *Sawâri* is no Proper Name, but an Appellative.

The different meanings of this word in Arabic, as properly given by Golius, are four. سارية *Sâriyat*, plur. سوارى *Sawâri*, (1) Columna. (2) Trabs. (3) Navis. (4) Nubes noctu oborta.

Leo Africanus, in his History of Africa, written at the end of the fifteenth, or the beginning of the sixteenth century, translated *Amûd Iſſawâri*, “The Column of the “Trees’.” Reiske, in his version of this passage of

‘ ——— “discoſto da Aleſſandria forſe à ſei miglia verſo ponente ſi “trouvano certi antichiffimi edificj : fra quali è una Colonna groſſiffima et “altiffima : laquale nella lingua Arabica è detta *Hemaduffaoar*, che tanto “vuol dire, quanto la Colonna de GLI ALBERI.” Leo AFRIC. lib. xviii. cap. xvii.

N. B. *Forſe à ſei miglia* ſeems to be an error of the preſs. The accurate Greaves makes the diſtance of Pompey’s Pillar from Alexandria much leſs than *one* mile. “Towards the ſouth ſide of Alexandria,” ſays he, “ſtands the faireſt Pillar, which I ſuppoſe is in the world, *ſome half a mile*, “*or leſs*, out of the town.” *Miſcellaneous Works of Mr. JOHN GREAVES*, vol. ii. p. 515.

Abulfeda, renders it, “The Column of the Beams.” Now, though neither of these significations is properly applicable to this place, yet the word is often used in both these acceptations. Thus, Luke vi. 41. in the Polyglott Arabic version—*perceivest not the beam in thine own eye*—the word for BEAM is *Sáriyat*, the sing. of *Sawári*: and Exodus xxxiv. 13. *ye shall cut down their groves*—the word for GROVES is the very plural *Sawári* itself. Leo Africanus and Reiske therefore are so far justified, as having deduced *Sawári* from its proper root, and given it at least a legitimate signification.

As the true sense of *Amúd Iffawári* may be best collected from a passage in Abdollatif, (a most valuable author, whom I have lately given to the public in Arabic and Latin,) I shall exactly transcribe his words on this particular subject. They are found at page 110. 112. of the quarto edition.

ورایت بالاسکندرية عمود السواری وهو عمود احمر منقط من
الحجر المانع الصوان عظیم الغلط جدا شاهق الطول

ثم اني رايت بشاطي البحر مبايلي سور المدينة اكثر من اربع
ماية عمود مكسرة انصافا واثلاثا حجرها من جنس حجر عمود
السواری علي الثلث منه او الربع وزعم اهل الاسكندرية قاطبة انها
كانت منتصبه حول عمود السواری وان بعض ولاة الاسكندرية
واسبه قراجا كان واليا عن يوسف بن ايوب فراي هدم هذه

السواري وتكسيورها والقاهها بشاطي البحر زعم ان ذلك يكسر
سورة الموج عن سور المدينة او ان يمنع مراكب العدو تسند اليه
وهذا من عبث الولدان ومن فعل من لا يفرق بين المصلحة
والمفسدة

ورأيت ايضا حول عهود السواري من هذه الاعبيدة بقايا صالحة
بعضها صحيح وبعضها مكسور ويظهر من حالها انها كانت مستقوفة
والاعبيدة تحمل السقف *** واري انه الرواق الذي كان
يدرس فيه ارسطوطاليس وشيعته من بعده وانه دار العلم
الذي بناه الاسكندر حين بني مدينته وفيها كانت خزانة الكتب
التي حرقها عمرو بن العاص باذن عمر رضي الله عنه

“ I saw at Alexandria the *Amúd Issawári*. It is a
“ reddish, spotted Column, extremely thick and high,
“ &c. &c.

“ I afterwards saw on the shore of the sea, where it
“ approaches nearest to the wall of the city, more than
“ four hundred Pillars, broken into two or three pieces.
“ Their material was the same kind of stone as that of the
“ *Amúd Issawári*, and they were about a third or fourth
“ part of the size of that Column. The people of Alex-
“ andria universally affirm, that they stood near the
“ *Amúd Issawári*; and that a Governor of Alexandria,
“ named Karaja, who governed there under Saladin, de-
“ termined to throw down these Pillars, break them in
“ pieces, and cast them into the sea; imagining that

“ they would keep off the force of the waves from the
 “ city-wall, or prevent the approach of an enemy. But
 “ this was only the play of children, and the work of
 “ one who could not distinguish between good and
 “ evil.

“ I saw also near the *Amúd Iffawári* considerable re-
 “ mains of these Pillars, some whole, and some broken ;
 “ and it was evident from appearances, that they had
 “ been covered with a roof, and that these Pillars sup-
 “ ported the roof. Here I understood was the portico,
 “ where Aristotle gave lectures, and his disciples after
 “ him ; it being the school founded by Alexander, when
 “ he built the city called after his name. Here also was
 “ that Library, which Amru Ebn El Aas burnt, by the
 “ command of the Khalif Omar.”

Abdollahif here unequivocally determines the meaning of the word *Sawári* ; for he uses it as precisely synonymous with the common term *ءامدات* *a'midat*. Thus, “ determined to throw down these Pillars, break them in pieces, and cast them into the sea,” is, in the original, “ determined to throw down these *Sawári*, break them in pieces, and cast them into the sea.” *Sáriyat*, moreover, the singular of *Sawári*, is used clearly in the same sense, and cannot be otherwise understood, in that passage of Edrisi, which describes the VERY BUILDING

near Pompey's Column, to which the Pillars belonged. I quote the original words, with the Latin translation of Gabriel Sionita.—صغته هو مجلس مربع الطول في كل راس منه ست عشرة سارية وفي الجانبين سبعة وستون سارية المتطاولين—“Hæc est qualitas ipsius. Aula [feu, Palatium] “est quadratæ celsitudinis, et in utroque capite illius “funt COLUMNÆ^u sexdecim: in duobus autem lateribus “oblongioribus COLUMNÆ^u sexaginta septem^x.”

I am happy to add, that the sentiments of the late Professor SCHULTENS exactly coincide with my own on the preceding subject, as far as the word *Sawâri* is concerned; though I had not the pleasure to read his remarks till long after I had decidedly formed my opinion on this subject. I shall therefore extract his observations, as being likely to gratify those readers into whose hands they may not hitherto have fallen, and as affording a full confirmation of my own assertions.

Bibliotheca Critica, Tom. i. Pars secunda, p. 21.

“Columnam Pompeii Alexandrinam quam Abulfeda “عامود السواري vocat, Michaelis vertit *Columnam Severi*, “eamque inani conjectura a Septimio Severo positam

^u *Sâriyat* is put for the plural *Sawâri*, according to a well known rule of Grammar. “Numeri cardinales a *decem* ad *centum* regunt numeratum in Accusativo *singulari*.” Gramm. ERPENII, edit. Gol. p. 168.

^x Geogr. Nubiensis, edit. Par. 1619. p. 96.

“ arbitrat. (Not. 193.) Nimirum, manifesto errore,
 “ confundit سوارى cum سوارس vel سيوارس, quemadmo-
 “ dum *Severi* nomen ab ipso Abulfeda scriptum depre-
 “ hendimus in parte iv. Operis Historici (p. 57. Codicis
 “ Warneriani). Frustra etiam Spartiani locum excitat
 “ ut hanc opinionem auctoritate aliqua confirmet; cum
 “ nihil aliud inde probetur, quam Severum Alexandriam
 “ adiisse, inque urbem beneficia quædam contulisse. Ita-
 “ que non erat, cur Michaelis tantopere exultaret, et
 “ videretur sibi jam tandem aliquando de nobilissimo
 “ antiquitatis Monumento aliquid certi statuere posse,
 “ idque adeo novum recentioribus et ignotum, ut Reif-
 “ kius, vir incredibili doctrina, ne intelligeret quidem
 “ Abulfedam, literasque سوارى legens, non de Severo
 “ cogitaret, sed Versioni suæ hanc subjiceret notam.
 “ *Columna trabium. Nescio cur ita dicta. Pompeii*
 “ *forte intelligitur.* Nempe ad radicem سور (Gol.
 “ p. 1236.) nomen Severi Arabicis literis expressum re-
 “ vocabat.’ “ Enimvero huc si revocasset Reiskius vocem
 “ سوارى, profecto haud levius errasset, quam nunc erra-
 “ vit Michaelis, cum nunquam a سور possit derivari
 “ سوارى, sed hæc forma pluralis sit, sive collectiva, a
 “ sing. سارية *trabs, columna*, quod a Themate سارى deri-
 “ vatum, in Golio extat, p. 1170, quodque apud Scrip-
 “ tores Arabicos passim occurrit. Neque solum usurpa-
 “ tur de *tignis, trabibus, columnis*, verum etiam de *opere*
 “ *columnato, de porticu* imprimis, longa columnarum

“ferie magnificentius extructa. Et folent اسطوانة *porticus*, et سوارى *columnarum strues* invicem plerumque
 “permutari. Itaque عامود السوارى verti non debet
 “*Columna trabium*, fed *Columna porticus*, five talis,
 “quæ collocata erat in magnifica plurium Columnarum
 “structura : confer Pocock. tom. i. p. 8. fed imprimis id
 “patet ex Abu Serrouri Compendio descriptionis Æ-
 “gypti, quod ex Masudio, Macrizio, aliisque excerpfit,
 “et in quo Cap. vi. de *Amoud Iffawari* separatim egit.
 “Hic igitur refert, *hanc Columnam collocatam fuiffe*
 “*prope alias Columnas fere quadringentas, quas Karagia*
 “*præfectus Alexandriæ eo tempore, quo Saladinus Ægyp-*
 “*tum teneret, destruxerit, et in maris littus projecerit,*
 “*ut adventanti hosti aditum præcluderet*”. Nil igitur re-

‡ The passage of Macrizi referred to at p. 94. states precisely the same fact, and is thus translated by the learned DE SACY; to whom Oriental literature is greatly indebted for various important publications. “AMUD ISSAWARI. Cette colonne est d’une pierre rouge, et marquée de points de différentes couleurs : c’est un granit dur. Il y avoit autrefois à l’entour de ce monument 400 autres colonnes ; elles furent mises en pièces par Karadja, gouverneur d’Alexandrie, du temps du Sultan Salaheddin Youf-souf-ben-Ayyoub : il les fit briser et jeter sur le rivage de la mer, afin de rendre difficile la marche de l’ennemi, lorsqu’il viendrait. On dit que cette colonne faisoit autrefois partie de celles qui contenoient le portique d’Aristote, où il enseignoit la philosophie ; que ce lieu étoit un édifice consacré à l’instruction, et qu’il renfermoit une bibliothèque, que brûla Amrou ben-Alas, par ordre d’Omar ben-Alkhattab.” MAGASIN ENCYCLOPEDIQUE, V. Année, tom. iv. p. 442.

N. B. *The Arabic original of this passage, which, as far as I know, has never yet been published, will be subjoined to this Part of the ÆGYPTIACA, from a Ms. in the Bodleian Library.*

“ fert Abulfeda de conditore hujus Columnæ, quam
 “ probabile est Vespasiano positam fuisse et dicatam, in
 “ memoriam prodigii, quod fanando claudo, Alexandriæ
 “ fecisse traditur : quam conjecturam ingeniose adstruxit
 “ Nobilis vir Edvardus Wortlejus Montacutius cum aliis
 “ argumentis tum nummo Vespasiani, quem in Columna
 “ invenit, et cui inscriptum AVT. KAIC. CEB. OUECH.
 “ In averfa parte conspicitur victoria gradiens, dextra
 “ fpicas, finiftra palmam gestans. Vid. Comment. Phi-
 “ losoph. Regiæ Societ. Lond. vol. lviii. art. 42. Si
 “ igitur locus in quo hæc Columna posita erat, jam
 “ antea *Affawari* diceretur, ab insigni Columnarum
 “ copia, patet ratio cur ea quæ recentiore ætate acce-
 “ deret, nomen *Amoud Iffawari* obtineret^z. ”

On the whole, then, we have seen that *Sawári* cannot
 signify SEVERUS, because the Arabic term for SEVERUS
 is never so written : and moreover that it cannot be any
Proper Name at all, because it has the Arabic article
 prefixed to it.

Leo Africanus, to whom the Arabic language was
 vernacular, and Reiske, a man of consummate Arabic

^z On what grounds I think differently from the learned Professor on
 the subject of Wortley Montagu's hypothesis, I have fully shewn in the
 first Section.

erudition, both concur in considering it as an Appellative, though ignorant of its true meaning, as applied to the Alexandrian Column.

We have seen, that, amongst the various senses which *Sawâri* has, none is applicable on this occasion but that of PILLARS : and this meaning the context of Abdolatif and Edrifi absolutely requires, and indeed admits of no other.

We have seen also that not only Abulfeda has given the appellation of *Amûd Iſſawâri* to the Alexandrian Column, but that this appellation has been adopted by all the most respectable Arabic writers on the Antiquities of Egypt, and uniformly for the same reason, because it was *the Column of the Pillars*, or one gigantic and magnificent Column, proudly towering over a numerous assemblage of Pillars of inferior magnitude and splendour.

APPENDIX.

Nº. II.

CONCERNING THE

SITE OF THE SERAPEUM.

THE Greek and Latin authors alluded to at p. 66. are STRABO, MACROBIUS, and CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS. I will lay the original passages before the Reader.

STRABO.

ΕΙΣΠΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΙ δὲ ἐν ἀρισερᾷ, ἐς συνεχῇ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Λο-
χιάδι, τὰ ἐνδοτέρω βασιλεια, πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας ἔχοντα δι-
αίτας ἢ ἄλση· τούτοις δὲ ὑπόκειται ὅ, τε κρυπτός λιμὴν καὶ κλειστός
ἴδιος τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἡ Ἀντίρροδος νησίον περικείμενον τῷ ὀρυκτῷ
λιμένος, βασιλείον ἅμα καὶ λιμένιον ἔχον· ἐκάλεσαν δὲ ἔπως,
ὡς ἂν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἐνάμιλλον. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τέττα τὸ Θέατρον·
εἴτα τὸ Ποσειδῖον, ἀγκῶν τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐμπορίας χαλαρμένης περι-
πεπτωκώς, ἔχων ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος· ὃν περιθεὶς χώμα Ἀντών-
ιος ἐπὶ μᾶλλον περινεῦον εἰς μέσον τὸν λιμένα ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ
κατεσκεύασε δάιταν βασιλικήν, ἣν Τιμώνιον περισηγόρευσε.
Τοῦτο δὲ ἐπραξε τὸ τελευταῖον ἡνίκα περιλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν

φίλων ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ χακοπρα-
 γίαν, Τιμάνιον αὐτῷ κρίνας τὸν λοιπὸν βίον, ὃν διάξειν ἔμελλεν
 ἔρημος τῶν ποσέτων φίλων. Εἶτα τὸ Καισάριον, καὶ τὸ Ἐμπο-
 ρεῖον, καὶ Ἀποσάσεις μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ Νεώρια, μέχρι τῆς Ἑπτα-
 σαδίας. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα. Ἐξῆς δὲ Εὐνόσε
 λιμὴν μετὰ τὸ Ἑπτασάδιον καὶ ὑπὲρ τέττε ὀρυκτός, ὃν καὶ
 Κίβωτον καλοῦσιν, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸς Νεώρια. Ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ τέττε
 Διώρυξ πλωτὴ μέχρι τῆς λίμνης τεταμένη τῆς Μαρεώτιδος·
 ἔξω μὲν οὖν τῆς Διώρυγος μικρὸν ἔτι λείπεται τῆς πόλεως· εἴθ’
 ἡ Νεκρόπολις, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ᾧ κῆποι τὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ταφαὶ
 καὶ καθάγωγαί, πρὸς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιήδειαι. ΕΝΤΟΣ
 ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΩΡΥΓΟΣ ΤΟ, ΤΕ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα,
 ἐκλειμμένα πῶς διὰ τὴν τῶν ναῶν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἐν Νικο-
 πόλει καὶ γὰρ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ σάδιον, καὶ οἱ πέντε τετριχοὶ
 ἀγωνες ἐκεῖ συντελεῖνται, τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ ὀλιγώρηται. Edit.
 Amstel. lib. xvii. cap. iv. p. 704.

“ When you have entered (the Great Port), on your
 “ left hand are the inner Palaces, contiguous to those on
 “ the (promontory) Lochias, and they contain a great
 “ variety of apartments and groves. Below these lies
 “ the private and enclosed Harbour, which belongs to
 “ the kings alone; and the little Isle of Antirrhodus
 “ lying before the artificial Port, which contains a pa-
 “ lace and a small port. It had this name, as being
 “ intended to rival Rhodes. Beyond this is the Theatre;

“ then the Neptunium, being a kind of elbow running
“ out from that place which is called the Emporium,
“ with the temple of Neptune, to which Antony hav-
“ ing added a mole, projecting into the middle of
“ the port, at the very extremity built a royal apart-
“ ment, which he called Timonium. This last work he
“ finished when, having been deserted by his friends, he
“ came to Alexandria, after the defeat at Actium, hav-
“ ing determined to spend the remainder of his life like
“ Timon ; being abandoned by so many friends. Then
“ follows the Cæsarium, and the Emporium, and the
“ Apostafes ; after which, the Docks, as far as the Hep-
“ tastadium. And these are what lie round the Great
“ Port. Next to the Heptastadium is the port of Eunof-
“ tus : and above it is a port made by digging, which they
“ call Kibotus ; this likewise has Dock-yards. Within
“ this is a navigable Canal, extending as far as the lake
“ Mareotis. Without the Canal there remains a small
“ part of the city. Next is Necropolis, and the suburb,
“ in which are many gardens, and sepulchres, and houses
“ fitted up for the purpose of embalming the dead.
“ WITHIN THE CANAL ARE THE SERAPEUM, and other
“ ancient temples, which are somewhat neglected on
“ account of the temples built in Nicopolis : for there
“ is an amphitheatre, and a stadium, and the quinquen-
“ nial games are celebrated there ; thus the old places
“ are neglected.”

If the Reader will cast his eye on D'Anville's plan of ancient Alexandria, which I have caused to be exactly engraved from his *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, he will see, on the western side, the port of Eunostus; and towards the southern part of this, the smaller port of *Kibotus*. The Canal passing from the *Kibotus* to the lake Mareotis, and here spoken of by Strabo, appears to be placed by D'Anville with sufficient accuracy, and is called by him FOSSA. The evidence of Strabo, as to the Site of the Serapeum, amounts distinctly to this, that the Serapeum lay WITHIN, OR EAST OF THIS CANAL: but whether it were nearer to the southern or northern point of it, he does not determine. This matter, however, seems fully ascertained by a Latin writer, whose authority ranks high amongst scholars.

MACROBIUS.

“ NULLUM ÆGYPTI OPPIDUM INTRA MUROS SUOS
 “ AUT SATURNI AUT SERAPIS FANUM RECEPIT ^a.”

This evidence of Macrobius clearly fixes the Site of the Serapeum near the southern part of the Canal, and even beyond the walls of the city ^b. But the Greek

^a MACROB. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. vii.

^b “ It is to be observed, that as he [Serapis] was a new god, so he
 “ brought in with him among the Egyptians a new way of worship. For,

PLAN D'ALEXANDRIE





author, whom I am next to quote, is more definite still.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

—— ὃς [ὁ Πτολεμαῖος] δεξάμενος τὸν ἀνδριάντα [τῷ Σαράπιδος], καθίδρυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρᾶς, ἣν νῦν Ῥακῶτιν καλεῖσιν· ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τετίμηται τῷ Σαράπιδος· γειτνιαῖ δὲ τοῖς τόποις τὸ χωρίον. Tom. i. p. 42. edit. Potter.

“ —— who, [i. e. Ptolemy] upon receiving the Image
 “ [of Sarapis], erected it on the PROMONTORY, which
 “ they now call *Rhacotis*; where also was placed the
 “ Temple of Sarapis; and in the vicinity are the lands
 “ annexed to the Temple.”

“ till the time of the Ptolemies, the Egyptians never offered any bloody sa-
 “ crifices to their gods, but worshipped them only with their prayers and
 “ frankincense. But the tyranny of the Ptolemies having forced upon them
 “ the worship of two foreign gods, that is, *Saturn* and *Serapis*, they in this
 “ worship first brought in the use of bloody sacrifices among that people.
 “ However, they continued always so averse hereto, that they would never
 “ suffer any Temple to be built to either of those gods *within any of the*
 “ *walls of their cities*: but wherever they were in that country, they were
 “ always built without them in their SUBURBS.” PRIDEAUX's *Connect.*
 vol. ii. p. 11. edit. fol.

“ In that place in the SUBURB *Rhacotis*, where the Image of *Serapis*,
 “ which Ptolemy brought from *Sinope*, was set up, was afterwards built a
 “ very famous Temple to that Idol, called the *Serapeum*, &c.” Ibid.
 p. 12.

The hill, on which Pompey's Pillar stands, is styled a PROMONTORY, by one of our earliest travellers. "Post-ridie," says Bellonius, "urbe egressi præaltam Pompeii Columnam spectatum ivimus, in exiguo quodam PROMONTORIO sitam &c." p. 4. And again at p. 5. concerning the same eminence—"Ex summo hoc PROMONTORIO longus in mare et continentem patet conspectus."

I avow, therefore, that the Ἀκρᾶ or Promontory, spoken of by Clemens Alexandrinus, appears to me to be the very eminence on which Pompey's Pillar stands; and I conceive that the Temple of Serapis was chiefly built ON AN ARTIFICIAL HEIGHT, JOINED TO THIS NATURAL EMINENCE, AND RAISED PRECISELY TO THE SAME LEVEL.

Ruffinus informs us, that the ascent to the platform of the Temple was by a flight of at least a hundred steps^c. And the height of the hill, on which Pompey's Pillar stands, is stated by Abdollatif to be twenty-three cubits and a half^d; and by Maillet to be about twenty-

^c "Locus est non natura, sed manu et constructione per centum, aut eo amplius gradus, in sublime suspensus." See p. 36.

^d "Legi in autographo cujusdam peregrinatoris, ipsum mensurasse τὸν Ἀμὺδ [Iffawari] una cum ejus basi et capitello, fuisseque sexaginta duo-

five or thirty yards^e. Now, I think, these measurements approximate so nearly to those of the Roman writer, as fully to justify my hypothesis. Hence also we are enabled to reconcile the apparently different accounts of Ruffinus and Sozomen; of whom, the one says, that the Temple was built on an artificial eminence^f; and the other seems to represent it as erected on a natural hill^g. The fact most probably was, that the *artificial* height was so well connected with the *natural*, as not to be distinguishable by vulgar spectators.

I shall now quote a passage from Strabo, which has been supposed to be connected with the Site of the Serapeum, and has given birth to that erroneous position of the Temple, which we find in the plans of Bonamy and D'Anville.

Ὁ γοῦν μέγας λιμὴν πρὸς τῷ κεκλειῶθι καλῶς τῷ τε χώ-

“rum cubitorum, cum sexta cubiti parte; situm vero in Colle, cujus altitudo effret viginti trium cubitorum, cum dimidia cubiti parte.” ABDOLL. edit. 4^{to}. p. 115.

^e “ [La Colonne est] élevée sur un tertre naturel de pierre solide escarpé de toutes parts, et de la hauteur de vingt cinq à trente coudées.” MAILLET, tom. i. p. 48.

^f See note (c).

^g —ἐπὶ γεωλόφῳ κείμενος. See p. 36.

ματι, καὶ τῇ φύσει, ἀγχιβαθὴς τέ ἐστιν, ὥστε τὴν μεγίστην ναῦν ἐπὶ κλίμακος ὀρμεῖν· καὶ εἰς πλείους δὲ χίζεται λιμένας.

Οἱ μὲν ἔν τῳ πρότεροι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς ἀγαπῶντες οἷς εἶχον, καὶ ἐ πᾶν ἐπείσάκτων δεόμενοι, διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς ἅπαντας τὰς πλέοντας, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς Ἑλλήνας (προβηταὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ ἐπιθυμηταὶ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατὰ σπάνιν γῆς) ἐπέστησαν φυλακὴν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, κελεύσαντες ἀπέειργεν τὰς προσιόντας· καλοικίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔδωσαν τὴν προσαγορευομένην Ῥακῶτιν, ἣ νῦν μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας πόλεως ἐστὶ μέρος τὸ ὑπερκεείμενον τῶν νεωρείων· τότε δὲ κόμη ὑπῆρχε. Τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ τῆς κόμης Βακόλοις παρῆσαν, δυναμένοις καὶ αὐτοῖς κωλύειν τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντας. STRABO, p. 1141.

“ The Great Port, in addition to its being well enclosed, both by means of a mound and by nature, has such a depth of water close to the shore, that the largest vessel can be moored to the quays; and it is divided into several small ports.

“ The former kings of Egypt, being contented with what they enjoyed, and not much wanting the produce of foreign countries, had a great aversion to all navigators, especially the Greeks: (for they were free-booters, and, from the scantiness of their own territory, were greedy to seize on land abroad:) they

“ therefore established a garrison in this part, with
“ orders to repel all who offered to approach ; at the
“ same time giving them for a settlement [the Village]
“ called Rhacotis, which now indeed is become a part
“ of the city of the Alexandrians, situated above the
“ Docks : though it was then a [solitary] Village. The
“ parts round about this Village they granted to Herd-
“ men ; who likewise formed a body strong enough to
“ check the inroads of any invaders.”

The point at issue is briefly this. Does *Rhacotis* in this passage of Strabo mean the same as *Rhacotis* in the following passage of Tacitus ? “ Templum pro magnitudine urbis exstructum, loco cui nomen *Rhacotis* : fuerat illic Sacellum Serapidi atque Ifidi antiquitus sacratum ^h. ”

Bonamy, a learned member of the French Academyⁱ, and D’Anville, who implicitly follows him, seem both to consider the *Rhacotis* of Strabo as a clue, which leads directly and certainly to the *Serapeum-Rhacotis*. As I cannot, however, possibly concur in this opinion, I shall without ceremony state my objections to it.

I readily allow that the village *Rhacotis*, which ex-

^h TACITUS, tom. iii. p. 287. edit. Brot.

ⁱ Mémoires de l’Académie, tom. ix. p. 426.

isted before the time of Alexander, was situated in that part where D'Anville places it; for such I conceive to be the plain sense of Strabo's words. He says, it was *ὑπερκείμενον τῶν Νεωρίων*, *lying [just] above the Docks*: and where the Docks are situated, he very clearly defines at p. 1142; when, having in his description of Alexandria, travelled round the Great Port from the promontory of Lochias as far as the Heptastadium, and marked with great exactness all the principal objects in his route, he places the docks immediately to the east of the Heptastadium: *Εἶτα τὸ Καισάριον, καὶ τὸ Ἐμπορεῖον, καὶ Ἀποσάσεις μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ Νεώρια, μέχρι τῆς Ἑπτασταδίου. Ταῦτα μὲν πὰρ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα.*

But though I allow that the *Rhacotis* of Strabo was situated near the docks of the Great Port, and that the Site of it was probably enclosed within the walls of the New City by Dinocrates; yet no evidence whatever has been produced, that the term *Rhacotis* was retained by this architect, as expressing a distinct *quarter*, or *district*, of the city.

Strabo's words—*Ῥακῶτιν, ἣ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐστὶ μέρος*—“*Rhacotis*, which is now become a part of “the city of the Alexandrians—” imply, to my apprehension, that it was totally absorbed in it, and had lost both its figure and its name. That Strabo should men-

tion the *particular* Site of this *Rhacotis*, is what might be expected from so accurate a topographer ; and it was a notice proper to be preserved : but that Dinocrates should give the appellation of the Old Egyptian Village to a principal quarter of the New City, when Alexander was ambitious of having the whole honour attributed to himself, is wholly inconceivable.

The ruins of Memphis were, we presume, the quarry, from whence materials were brought to build and ornament Alexandria : but though these materials were, probably, most of them covered with hieroglyphics, yet the Greeks appear to have effaced the Egyptian characters from the marble, before they applied it to the uses of architecture in their New City^k. I conclude,

^k “ Nous ne devons proprement regarder les ruines de Memphis que
“ comme une carrière brute, d'où on tiroit les pierres pour les tailler d'une
“ manière convenable. Il eût même été impossible de rassembler toutes
“ les pièces de façon, qu'elles pussent servir à des édifices, pareils à ceux,
“ où elles avoient été employées. Dès qu'on suppose, que ces édifices
“ étoient en ruine, on n'y doit rien chercher d'entier ; et il y auroit eu la
“ même impossibilité à rétablir ce qui y manquoit. Des raisons d'ambition
“ et de jalousie s'y oppoient ; et on ne sçauroit ignorer l'empêchement,
“ qu'une cause naturelle y apportoit, puisque, du tems d'Alexandre, on
“ étoit déjà aussi ignorant dans l'intelligence des Hiéroglyphes, que nous le
“ sommes présentement.

“ Je pourrois m'étendre davantage sur cette matière ; mais je me contente simplement de remarquer, que les morceaux de marbre couverts
“ d'Hiéroglyphes, qui se trouvent au fondement de la Colonne de Pompée,

therefore, that when Alexandria was first built, and when that name became the general appellation amongst the Greeks, those conquerors totally forbore all use of the term *Rhacotis*.

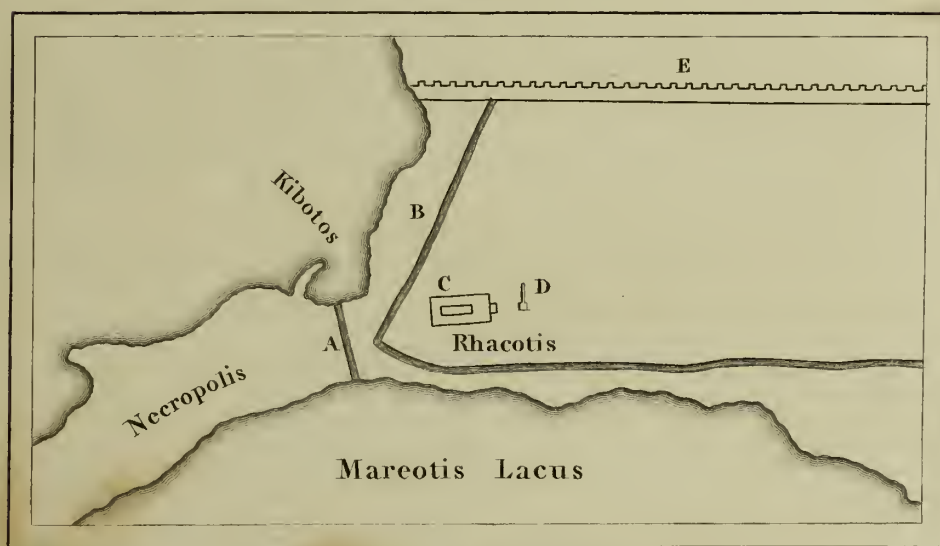
The *Serapeum-Rhacotis* seems then to be quite a different thing from the *Rhacotis* of *Strabo*. And, indeed, this might well be inferred from the very passages themselves of Tacitus and Clemens above quoted. For, the former of these writers describes the *Serapeum-Rhacotis*, not as the site of the small Egyptian town, which preceded the building of Alexandria, but as the site of a Chapel formerly dedicated to Serapis and Isis : and the latter says, that the place was THEN¹, i. e. IN THE SECOND CENTURY, called *Rhacotis* ; most clearly intimating, that this was not its ANCIENT appellation.

But what puts the matter out of all doubt, is the positive testimony of Cyril of Alexandria ; whose opportunities of information entitle him to the highest authority on this question. He had long lived at Alexan-

“ prouvent, qu'on en a effectivement apporté ; et qu'on n'a pas voulu s'en
 “ servir, sans les changer, si ce n'est quand on les mettoit dans des endroits,
 “ où on les croyoit pour toujours cachés aux yeux des hommes.” NOR-
 DEN, tom. i. p. 22.

¹ —καθίδρυσεν ἐπὶ ἀκρας, ἣν ΝΤΝ Ῥακῶτιν καλεῖσιν

Serapei Situs, ex mente Iosephi White



J. Storer, sc.

- A Fossa a kiboto ad lacum Mareotim perducta
- B Canalis Alexandrinus, vulgo the khalij of Cleopatra
- C Serapeum
- D Columna vulgo dicta Pompeii
- E Murus urbis hodiernus

dria, with his uncle Theophilus, the patriarch of that city; and after his death, Cyril himself filled the same chair for upwards of thirty years. At the general council of Ephesus, where two hundred and seventy bishops were assembled, to repress the errors of Nestorius, Cyril was called upon to preside; which shews at once the dignity of his rank, and the eminence of his character. His works, published at Paris in 1639, in six volumes fol. exhibit irrefragable proofs, that he possessed an active, inquisitive mind, amply stored with solid erudition. His observations on *Serapis* and the *Serapeum* are these.—

Ἐκατοστῇ εἰκοστῇ τετάρτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι Πτολεμαίῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύοντος τῷ ἐπὶ κλην Φιλαδέλφῳ, τὸν Σάραπιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φασὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Σινώπης· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ εἶναι τῷ Πλάτῳ, ὅθεν καὶ ἱερόν ἐκτίζετο τῷ ἀγάλματι· ὃ καὶ τῇ ἐγγχωρίῳ φωνῇ καλεῖσιν Αἰγύπτιοι ΠΑΚΩΤΙΝ· ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ Η ΤΟΝ ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΣΗΜΑΙΝΟΥΣΙ^m, ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τοῖς μνήμασι γείτονα τὸν νεὼν ἐποίησαντο. CYRILLI, Alexandriæ Patriarchæ, Opera, tom. vi. contra Julianum, p. 13.

“ In the 124th Olympiad, whilst Ptolemy, surnamed “ Philadelphus, reigned in Egyptⁿ, we are told that the

^m The Reader cannot fail to observe, how much light this passage and that of Plutarch quoted at p. 54. reflect on each other.

ⁿ i. e. Whilst he was partner of the throne with his father, and indeed not long before the death of Soter. See PRIDEAUX's Connect. b. i. p. 9.

“ Image of Sarapis in Alexandria was brought from Si-
 “ nope ; and that he is the same with Pluto, on which
 “ account a Temple was built for the Idol : to which
 “ [Idol] the Egyptians, IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE
 “ COUNTRY, give the name of RHACOTIS. By this
 “ they mean nothing more than PLUTO : and therefore
 “ they built the Temple in the neighbourhood of the
 “ BURYING-PLACES.”

It seems then, that, owing to some cause or other, the whole business, concerning the Site of the *Serapeum*, has been hitherto strangely perplexed and mis-stated. To D’Anville, however, no blame is imputable. He had at that time no better guide to follow than Bonamy, being himself totally ignorant of the Greek language : and Bonamy, having never seen (as far as it appears) the passages we have quoted from Clemens and Cyril, might well be bewildered by the meteor of *Strabo’s Rhacotis*. It ought further to be added in his excuse, that he considered the whole subject, I mean the topography of ancient Alexandria, as a matter in itself not very interesting to the public°. As some of my readers may possibly

° “ — Cette discussion ne paroît pas fort intéressante, il est vray ; aussi
 “ n’est-ce point le but principal que je me suis proposé en travaillant à la
 “ description d’Alexandrie. Ceux qui ont lû avec un peu d’attention ce
 “ que Hirtius, Dion, et d’autres auteurs disent de la guerre que Jules-César,
 “ enfermé dans le quartier des Palais d’Alexandrie, eut à soutenir contre les
 “ Egyptiens, ont dû sentir qu’il n’étoit presque pas possible d’entendre

entertain the same opinion, I shall only trespass on their patience by adding a few words on the important evidence of Cyril.

It appears then, 1st. that *Rhacotis* and *Serapis* signify in the ancient Coptic one and the same thing, THE EGYPTIAN PLUTO; and that the *Name* of this deity was given to the *District*, where his temple was situated, is highly probable. The Building itself seems to have been called *Serapeum*, and the Spot where it stood, *Rhacotis*.

2^{dly}. Cyril not only furnishes us with new light as to the *meaning* of the word, but also with a new *geographical position*, fully confirming those we have already produced. For whilst Strabo tells us, that the Serapeum was situated within the Canal going from the port of Eunostus to the lake Mareotis; and Clemens, that it was connected with a Promontory (which we suppose to be that very eminence, on which Pompey's Pillar stands); Cyril expressly informs us, that it lay not far from NECROPOLIS: for no other meaning, I think, can be assigned to ΤΟΙΣ ΜΗΜΑΣΙ ΓΕΙΤΟΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΕΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΟ^p:

“ ces auteurs, sans avoir présente à l'imagination une description des lieux dont ils parlent, et principalement des Ports de cette Ville si renommée, “ la seconde de l'Empire Romain.” BONAMY, Histoire de l'Académie, tom. ix. p. 416.

^p That the Serapeum and Necropolis were not far asunder, we learn from

and if the Reader will cast his eye on the exact copy I present to him of D'Anville's two plans of Alexandria, he will see at once the mistake of that eminent geographer, and the striking coincidence of those *positions*, which are assigned to the Serapeum by Greek and Roman writers.

the express testimony of Strabo. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα. Ἐξῆς δ' Εὐνόου λιμὴν μετὰ τὸ Ἑπταστάδιον· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀρυκτῆς, ὃν καὶ Κίβωτον καλεῖσιν, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸς νεώρια. Ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τῆς διώρυγος πλωτὴ μέχρι τῆς λίμνης τεταμένη τῆς Μαρεώτιδος· ἔξω μὲν οὖν τῆς διώρυγος μικρὸν ἔτι λείπεται τῆς πόλεως· εἴθ' ἡ Νεκρόπολις, καὶ τὸ προάγειον ἐν ᾧ κῆποι τὲ πολλοὶ, καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ καταγωγαί, πρὸς τὰς ταριχεύσεις τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτιθέμεναι. Ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τό, τε Σαράπιον καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα...
Lib. xvii. cap. iv. p. 1145. edit. Amstel.

A P P E N D I X.

Nº. III.

FURTHER PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE PILLAR.

THE PIVOT.

AS the testimony of Mr. Montagu concerning the Pivot may possibly be questioned, I here add other authorities in proof of the general fact, that the weight of the Pillar rests wholly, or chiefly, on a single stone, much smaller than the Pedestal.

SANDYS.

“ [Pompey’s Pillar] is set upon a square cube (and
“ which is to be wondered at) not half so large as the
“ foot of the Pillar.” Edit. fol. 1621, p. 114.

MR. JOHN GREAVES^a.

“ The Stylobata [of Pompey’s Pillar] is the greatest
“ and fairest that I have seen; the breadth of which is
“ some four feet.” Pyramidographia, vol. ii. p. 515.

^a Mr. Greaves travelled in Egypt in 1638 and 1639.

DR. GEMELLI CARRERI.

“ Monday [1693] I went with a Janizary, assigned
 “ me by the Consul, out of the city, to see Pompey’s
 “ Pillar ; it stands on a high ground, which the sea leaves
 “ between north and south. It is all of one entire
 “ piece of red marble, except the capital, pedestal, and
 “ BASE, on which there are certain Egyptian hierogly-
 “ phics carved^b.” CHURCHILL’S Travels and Voyages,
 vol. iv. p. 9.

VAN EGMONT AND HEYMAN.

“ [Pompey’s Pillar] is placed on a foundation five
 “ feet square, and every side of it decorated with hiero-
 “ glyphics ; but it must be observed, that these figures
 “ are inverted.” Eng. transl. vol. ii. p. 137.

PAUL LUCAS^c.

“ Tout ce grand poids [de la Colonne de Pompée]
 “ est planté et supporté par un Pivot de cinq pieds en
 “ carré : ce Pivot est environné de pierres qu’on pour-

^b “ Some will have this Pillar to be four times as big as that of the Ro-
 “ tonda at Rome ; and the Consul, who is a very ingenious man, told me,
 “ that a French engineer had offered his King to take it down, and land it
 “ safe in France without breaking, but that the Grand Seignior would not
 “ consent to it.” Ibid. see Preface, p. vii.

^c Lucas visited Egypt in 1719.

“ roit aisément ôter sans que la Colonne courût aucun
 “ danger de tomber.” Tom. ii. p. 22.

DR. SHAW.

“ A great part of the foundation [of Pompey’s Pillar],
 “ which is made up of several different pieces of stone,
 “ or marble, hath been removed, in expectation, as may
 “ be supposed, of finding a treasure. At present, there-
 “ fore, the whole fabric seems to rest entirely upon a
 “ block of white marble, scarce two yards square, which,
 “ upon being touched with a key, gives a sound like a
 “ bell.” SHAW’S Travels, p. 339.

BR. POCKOCKE.

“ — It is indeed probable that the main weight of
 “ the Pillar does rest on this [Pivot], which on that side
 “ [the west south-west] is about four feet wide, and ap-
 “ peared to me to be a mixture of alabaster and flints
 “ of a great variety of colours, and has hieroglyphics on
 “ it.” Travels, vol. i. p. 8.

*Extract of a Letter from JOHN SKIPPE, Esq. to the Rev.
 Dr. White.*

OVERBURY, Sept. 25, 1785.

“ — I am glad with regard to the Pivot, that I
 “ may now safely believe my own eyes: having been
 “ often positively contradicted, I began almost to doubt

“ the fact ; for I had never seen either of those au-
“ thors you quote. Norden seems to treat both Lucas
“ and Maillet with contempt, for advancing such an
“ opinion^d ; but probably he never examined the cir-

^d *The following is the passage alluded to.*

“ With regard to the foundation, on which the Pedestal and the Column
“ rest, it is open on one side. An Arab, it is said, having dug under this
“ foundation, placed there a box of gunpowder, in order to blow up the
“ Column, and to make himself master of the treasures, which he imagined
“ to be buried underneath. Unhappily for him, he was not a good miner.
“ His enterprise miscarried. The mine blew up, and disfranged only four
“ stones, which made part of the foundation, of which the three other sides
“ remained entire. The only good, which resulted from it, was, that the
“ curious were afterwards able to see what stones had been employed in this
“ foundation. I have observed there a piece of white oriental marble,
“ quite full of hieroglyphics, so well preserved, that it has been easy for me
“ to draw them exactly. [See Plate iii.] Another large piece, which is
“ removed from its place, and which, notwithstanding, lies bare, is of Sici-
“ lian marble, yellowish and spotted with red ; it has equally its hierogly-
“ phics, but so damaged, that I have not been able to draw any thing from
“ it. A piece of a little Column had likewise served for this foundation,
“ as well as some other pieces of marble, that have nothing remarkable.

“ I have already said, that the damage has been only on one side. That
“ which has been taken away of the foundation leaves at most a void of
“ three feet, underneath the pedestal ; and the middle, as well as the three
“ other sides, continue in their original solidity. Paul Lucas, however,
“ who has not been content with giving us a drawing that is not exact of
“ this Column, represents it to us as resting only upon a single stone in the
“ middle. In the main one may pass over this fault, as well as so many
“ others : but that a Consul General, [Mons. de Maillet] who had resided
“ sixteen years at Cairo, who pretends to have seen better than any other
“ traveller, and who had been long enough at Alexandria, to be able to
“ examine this Column, should have contented himself with copying the

“ circumstance with that attention which the others had
“ done : I can only say, that it was too evident to be
“ mistaken, when I saw it. I was so struck with it, that
“ I made a drawing of the Base of the Column, exhibit-
“ ing the excavation underneath, and the stone upon
“ which it poises, &c. &c.”

THE CAPITAL.

“ Il y a quelque tems qu’un danseur de corde, Arabe
“ de nation, entreprit de monter sur cette Colonne, et
“ en vint à bout. Il attachâ une ficelle à une flèche,
“ qu’il eut l’adresse de faire passer dans les jours de la
“ corniche, dont le chapiteau est accompagné. Ensuite
“ par le moyen de la ficelle il y éleva une corde, à la
“ faveur de laquelle il monta réellement sur le haut de
“ la Colonne, portant un ânon sur ses épaules. Cela
“ se passa à la vue de tout le peuple d’Alexandrie, qui
“ étoit accouru pour jouir de cette nouveauté : c’est de

“ drawing that he found in Paul Lucas, is a matter inconceivable. Per-
“ haps he had reasons of policy for acting in this manner. He formed the
“ project of transporting this Column to France ; and representing it as
“ resting only upon a single stone, it appeared so much the more easy to
“ remove, and to put on board a vessel.” Eng. Transl. of NORDEN, edit.
fol. p. 10.

“ cet Arabe que l'on a sçu, que le chapiteau etoit
“ creusé considérablement.” MAILLET, tom. i. p. 147.

*Account of a ludicrous adventure of some English Cap-
tains in 1733, by EYLES IRWIN, Esq.*

“ These jolly sons of Neptune had been pushing
“ about the can on board one of the ships in the har-
“ bour, until a strange freak entered into one of their
“ brains. The eccentricity of the thought occasioned
“ it immediately to be adopted; and its apparent im-
“ possibility was but a spur for the putting it into execu-
“ tion. The boat was ordered, and, with proper im-
“ plements for the attempt, these enterprising heroes
“ pushed ashore, to drink a bowl of punch on the top
“ of Pompey's Pillar. At the spot they arrived, and
“ many contrivances were proposed to accomplish the
“ desired point. But their labour was vain; and they
“ began to despair of success, when the genius, who had
“ struck out the frolic, happily suggested the means of
“ performing it. A man was dispatched to the city for a
“ paper kite. The inhabitants were by this time ap-
“ prised of what was going forward, and flocked in
“ crowds to be witnesses of the address and boldness of
“ the English. The governor of Alexandria was told
“ that these seamen were about to pull down Pompey's
“ Pillar: but, whether he gave them credit for their

“ respect to the Roman warrior, or to the Turkish
“ government, he left them to themselves, and politely
“ answered, that the English were too great patriots to
“ injure the remains of Pompey. He knew little, how-
“ ever, of the disposition of the people who were en-
“ gaged in this undertaking. Had the Turkish empire
“ rose in opposition, it would not, perhaps, at that mo-
“ ment, have deterred them. The kite was brought,
“ and flown so directly over the Pillar, that, when it fell
“ on the other side, the string lodged upon the capital.
“ The chief obstacle was now overcome. A two-inch
“ rope was tied to one end of the string, and drawn
“ over the Pillar by the end to which the kite was af-
“ fixed. By this rope one of the seamen ascended to the
“ top, and in less than an hour a kind of shroud was con-
“ structed, by which the whole company went up, and
“ drank their punch amid the shouts of the astonished
“ multitude. To the eye below, the capital of the Pillar
“ does not appear capable of holding more than one
“ man upon it; but our seamen found it could contain
“ no less than eight persons very conveniently. It is
“ astonishing, that no accident befel these madcaps in
“ a situation so elevated, that would have turned a land-
“ man giddy in his sober senses. The only detriment,
“ which the Pillar received, was the loss of one of the
“ volutes, which came down with a thundering sound,
“ and was carried to England by one of the captains, as a

“ present to a lady, who commissioned him for a piece of
“ the Pillar. The discovery, which they made, amply com-
“ pensated for this mischief; as, without their evidence,
“ the world would not have known, at this hour, that
“ there was originally a statue on this Pillar, one foot
“ and ancle of which are still remaining. The statue
“ was probably of Pompey himself, and must have been
“ of a gigantic size, to have appeared of a man’s pro-
“ portion, at so great an height.

“ There are circumstances in this narrative, which
“ might give it an air of fiction, were it not demon-
“ strated beyond all doubt. Besides the testimonies of
“ many eye-witnesses, the adventurers themselves have
“ left us a token of the fact by the initials of their
“ names, which are very legible in black paint just be-
“ neath the capital.” IRWIN’S Voyage up the Red
Sea, p. 370.

THE COLUMN.

The following Mémoire, drawn up by the French Savans, who lately visited Egypt, has excited some curiosity.

RAPPORT

SUR LA COLONNE DE POMPÉE,

Lu à l'institut, par le Citoyen NORRY, le 6 Vendémiaire an 7.

“ LE petit nombre de mesures données jusqu’ici de la
“ Colonne de Pompée, et indiquées souvent de la ma-
“ nière la plus incertaine par les différents auteurs qui
“ en ont parlé, nous a déterminés, avant de quitter
“ Alexandrie, les citoyens Dutertre, Protin, Lepere, et
“ moi, d’en recueillir toutes les proportions. Le com-
“ mandant du port, le citoyen Dumanoir, que nous
“ avons engagé de nous en faciliter les moyens en nous
“ faisant préparer à son bord quelques moufles et quel-
“ ques cordages, s’est empressé de seconder nos vues.
“ Le 14 Fructidor, à cinq heures du matin, nous nous
“ rendîmes à ce monument avec une escorte. Nous
“ commençâmes notre opération par élever un cerf-
“ volant * d’environ quatre pieds de haut, à l’attache

* Ce moyen avoit été employé quelques années avant.

“ duquel pendoit une seconde corde d’une longueur in-
“ définie, qui fut saisie par l’un de nous lorsque le cerf-
“ volant fut passé au-dessus et au-delà du chapiteau ; de
“ manière qu’en tirant cette corde le cerf-volant descen-
“ dit à terre, et fut ensuite séparé : nous eûmes une
“ corde passée par-dessus le chapiteau de la Colonne,
“ comme par-dessus la circonférence d’une poulie. Cette
“ première opération faite, on attacha à l’une des extré-
“ mités de cette corde une seconde corde, plus forte,
“ qu’on substitua à la première, et à celle-ci une troi-
“ sième, capable de porter plus que le poids d’un
“ homme. Un matelot fut enlevé sur le chapiteau. Son
“ premier soin fut de jeter en bas un drapeau en fer
“ battu placé en cet endroit, en 1789, par Fauvel, ar-
“ tiste Français : sur ce pavillon étoit indiquée la hau-
“ teur totale du monument, de 88 pieds 9 pouces.
“ Lorsque le matelot eut attaché fortement les cordages
“ autour des volutes d’angles, et placé avec soin un
“ moufle, je m’assis sur un petit banc suspendu à la
“ corde, et fus hissé aussitôt. Le citoyen Protin y monta
“ ensuite, et nous mesurâmes ensemble toutes les parties
“ du chapiteau. Pendant ce temps, les citoyens Lepere
“ et Dutertre prirent toutes les mesures de la base et du
“ piédestal. Nous prîmes ensuite une hauteur totale,
“ qui, à 8 centimètres (3 pouces) près, répondoit à celle
“ de Fauvel : elle se trouva de 28 mètres 73 centime-
“ tres (88 pieds 6 pouces). Il ne restoit plus qu’à me-

“ furer les diametres de la Colonne à diverfes hauteurs.
“ Pour y parvenir, nous avons difpofé une équerre d’en-
“ viron 5 pieds de branches, avec une fleche mobile
“ dans un couliffeau, partageant l’angle en deux, et pou-
“ vant à volonté s’avancer ou reculer pour toucher la
“ circonférence à chaque ftation, où l’on embraffoit
“ horizontalement avec l’équerre le fût de la Colonne ;
“ au moyen de quoi, en confidérant les hypothénufes
“ de chacun des triangles que déterminoient les lon-
“ gueurs de la fleche comme côtés d’octogones, nous
“ trouvions les divers cercles infcrits à ces octogones,
“ et par conféquent les diametres. Pour opérer avec
“ précifion, celui qui fe fervoit de l’équerre aux diverfes
“ ftations du fût préfentoit le niveau fur cette équerre,
“ qu’on lui aidoit à placer horizontalement, en baiffant
“ ou levant à volonté, du deffus de la Colonne, les ex-
“ trémités des deux branches, où fe trouvoient fixées
“ deux cordes : par ces divers procédés, nous avons
“ opéré avec la plus grande exactitude. Beaucoup de
“ membres de la commiffion des arts ont été témoins
“ de notre travail, et la plupart font montés enfuite fur
“ cet énorme chapiteau, fur lequel nous nous fommes
“ trouvés jufqu’à fix ou fept enfemble.

“ Il me refte un mot à ajouter fur la difpofition, la
“ divifion, les principales dimenfions, la nature de la
“ matiere, les proportions et l’âge de ce monument.

“ Il est disposé sur une légère éminence, et placé sur
“ un soubassement que les barbares ont dégradé; un
“ noyau de 1 mètre 28 centimètres (4 pieds 6 pouces)
“ carrés lui sert de seul support. Ce noyau est formé
“ d'un fragment de monument Egyptien, qui paraît être
“ de la nature du filix, et qui lui-même a été apporté
“ en ce lieu, puisque les caractères hiéroglyphiques en
“ sont renversés. En examinant attentivement cette
“ dégradation commise sous le piédestal, on découvre
“ que le tassement, réparti inégalement, a fait pencher
“ la Colonne de 21 centimètres (8 pouces); et c'est
“ sans doute à ce tassement qu'est due une profonde
“ crevasse d'environ 4 mètres 87 centimètres (15 pieds)
“ de longueur dans la partie inférieure du fût.

“ Ce monument présente un ordre Corinthien, et est
“ divisé en quatre parties, piédestal, base, fût, et chapiteau; un cercle de 2 m. 2 centim. (6 pieds 3 pouces)
“ de diamètre, et déprimé de 6 centimètres (2 pouces),
“ feroit croire qu'il y a eu autrefois un socle dessus, portant peut-être la figure du héros, à qui on avoit
“ élevé cette Colonne; mais ceci n'est qu'une conjecture.

“ Le piédestal a de hauteur 3 m. 24 c. (10 pieds);
“ la base, 1 m. 78 c. (5 pieds 6 p. 3 lig.); le fût, 20 m.
“ 48 c. (63 pieds 1 p. 3 lig.); le chapiteau, 3 m. 21 c.

“ (9 pieds 10 p. 6 lig.) ; le diametre de la Colonne est
“ de 2 m. 70 c. (8 pieds 4 p.) dans la partie infé-
“ rieure, et de 2 m. 49 c. (7 pieds 2 p. 8 lig.) près de
“ l’aſtragale : la hauteur totale, ainſi que je l’ai dit plus
“ haut, eſt de 28 m. 73 c. (88 pieds 6 pouces.)

“ Toutes les parties du monument ſont en granit Thé-
“ baïque, &c. &c.”

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

PAGE 38.

IF any one will consider with attention the passage of Philo here quoted, he will, I think, readily allow, that no situation could have been so proper for the Sebastium, as the spot which D'Anville has erroneously assigned to the Serapeum. And it ought further to be noted, that, as Strabo does not mention any building as occupying THAT VERY SITE, when he visited Alexandria^a, it seems to have been the only spot left open, which could have been applied to this purpose; and its proximity to the harbour^b must have afforded a singular advantage to a naval structure of such uncommon magnificence.

^a — Εἶτα τὸ Καισάριον καὶ τὸ Ἐμπορεῖον, καὶ Ἀποσάσεις· μετὰ ταῦτα ΤΑ ΝΕΩΡΙΑ, ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΤΑΣΤΑΔΙΟΥ. ΤΑΥΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα. STRABO, p. 1145.

^b — ἀντικρὺ τῶν εὐορμάτων λιμένων.

PAGE 52.

“ Un lieu plus ancien que la fondation d’Alexandrie,
 “ et dont le nom de *Rhacotis* subsista dans l’un des
 “ deux principaux quartiers de la ville, et est encore
 “ employé dans les Dictionnaires Coptes, comme propre
 “ à Alexandrie, bordoit une partie du Grand-Port et le
 “ Port Eunoste. Tacite (*Histor.* lib. vi. c. 84.) désigne
 “ cette situation en disant, que le Temple de Sérapis y
 “ avoit été construit, et le lieu élevé, sur lequel le *Sera-*
 “ *peum* étoit placé, au rapport de Sozomène (lib. vii.
 “ c. 15.) se connoît par un tertre, qui porte une tour
 “ de garde ayant vue sur les ports, et où l’on fait jour-
 “ nellement sentinelle. Léon d’Afrique (part. viii.), qui
 “ parle de cette tour, est bien fondé à dire, *in vero ella*
 “ *no ha sito naturale*, puisque Rufin, décrivant le Tem-
 “ ple de Sérapis, qui fut détruit en 389, par Théophile,
 “ Patriarche d’Alexandrie, marque que cet édifice étoit
 “ soutenu en l’air par des voûtes.” D’ANVILLE, Mé-
 moires sur l’Egypte, p. 58.

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ذكر عهود السواري

هذا العهود حجرا احمر منقسط وهو من الصوان المانع كان
 حوله نحو اربعماية عهود كسرها قراجا والي الاسكندرية في ايام
 السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ايوب ورمها بشاطي البحر
 ليوعر علي العدو وسلوكه اذا اقدموا ويذكر ان هذا العهود من
 جملة اعمدة كانت تحمل رواق ارسطاطاليس الذي كان

يدرس به الحكمة وانه كان دار علم وفيه خزنة كتب حرقها
عمرو بن العاص باشارة عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه —
Ms. Pocock. No. 394. p. 137. Ms. Marsh, No. 149.
p. 183.

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The ΧΩΡΙΟΝ (or lands appropriated for the maintenance of the various services of the Temple) lay probably between the fame Hill and the rich Port^c of the Mareotis : and how fertile this tract was, even in the 14th century, we learn from Abulfeda.

خليج الاسكندرية التي ياتيها من النيل من احسن المنتزهات
لانه ضيق محضر الجانبين بالبساتين

“ Canalis Alexandriæ, qui ei a Nilo venit, est amœnitate
“ eximius : inter viridaria ab utroque latere, hortis hic
“ illic distincta.” Geogr. Ægypt. edit. Michaelis, p. 6.

^c — τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαρείας, ἣ καὶ Μαρεῶτις λέγεται· πληροῖ δὲ ταύτην πολλὰς διώρυξιν ὁ Νεῖλος, ἀνωθεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων, δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ εἰσκομιζόμενα πολλῶν πλείων τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰσὶν· ὥσθ' Ὁ ΛΙΜΗΝ Ὁ ΛΙΜΝΑΙΟΣ ΥΠΗΡΧΕ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΙΟΥ. STRABO, p. 1142.

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